

The Scottish Reformation and Reign of James VI: A Select Critical Bibliography

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(a) *Bibliographical Guides and Works of Reference:*

For the sixteenth century — the century of Reformation — the literature on Scottish Church history is appropriately voluminous. As an introduction to the subject, attention is drawn to three companion bibliographies in the series: I. B. Cowan, "The Medieval Church in Scotland: A Select Critical Bibliography", *Records of the Scottish Church History Society [RSCHS]*, xxi, pt. 1 (1981), 91-110; Mark Dilworth, "The Counter-Reformation in Scotland: A Select Critical Bibliography", *RSCHS*, xxii, pt. 1 (1984), 85-100; and David Stevenson, "Scottish Church History, 1600-1660", *RSCHS*, xxi, pt. 2 (1982), 209-220. Of particular value is *The Bibliography of the Reform, 1450-1648, relating to the United Kingdom and Ireland for the years 1955-1970*, ed. D. Baker (Oxford, 1975), in which J. K. Cameron contributed the Scottish section. By contrast, M. B. MacGregor, *The Sources and Literature of Scottish Church History* (Glasgow, 1934) is dated and of limited use. Recourse may profitably be had to less specialised bibliographical guides including the *Bibliography of British History, Tudor Period, 1485-1603*, ed. C. Reid (second edition, Oxford, 1959). The Royal Historical Society's *Annual Bibliography of British and Irish History*, edd. G. R. Elton *et al.* from 1976 onwards provides a helpful guide to recent literature, as does the annual "List of articles on Scottish history" in the October issues of the *Scottish Historical Review [SHR]*. Also valuable, as a guide to works issued by Scottish historical clubs and societies is *Scottish Texts and Calendars: An Analytical Guide to Serial Publications*, compiled by D. and W. B. Stevenson, a volume issued jointly by the Royal Historical Society and Scottish History Society (London and Edinburgh, 1987), but which excludes from its lists official publications, secondary works and the contents of periodicals.

A broad survey of the general source material is available in G. Donaldson, *The Sources of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1978), a guide which though published privately and of slender proportions is to be preferred to the more readily available *Sources of History: Scotland from the Eleventh Century to 1603*, by Bruce Webster (London, 1975). Of more specialist interest to the ecclesiastical historian of the period is G. Donaldson's "Sources for Scottish ecclesiastical organisation and personnel, 1560-1600" in the

Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research [BIHR], xix (1944), 188-203, a revised version of which, with the modified title "Sources for Scottish Church History, 1560-1600", is contained within the same author's *Scottish Church History* (Edinburgh, 1985), 90-112.

The importance of the Vatican archives to the student of Scottish ecclesiastical history is demonstrated in I. B. Cowan, "The Vatican Archives: a report on pre-reformation Scottish material", *SHR*, xlviii (1969), 227-242. That survey, compiled two decades ago, was merely a report on progress, and today microfilm of all identified records in these archives relating to the pre-Reformation church in Scotland is available for consultation in the Department of Scottish History, University of Glasgow.

For the records of the post-Reformation church, a starting-point may be made with Thomas Burns, *Church Property: the Benefice Lectures* (Edinburgh, 1905), which lists the manuscript records of general assemblies, synods, presbyteries and kirk sessions then known to have survived. A less extensive list is to be found in *An Introductory Survey of the Sources and Literature of Scots Law*, prepared by various contributors for the Stair Society (Edinburgh, 1936), 154-62. A more recently produced list of the *Records of the Church of Scotland preserved in the Scottish Record Office and General Register House, Edinburgh* was published jointly, under that title, by the Scottish Record Society and Scottish Church History Society (Edinburgh, 1967), but it now requires substantial revision, in the light of a decision to retransmit a number of the records to regional archives (though copies on microfilm are often retained centrally) and further volumes, held locally in 1967, have subsequently been deposited in Edinburgh. A guide to the printed registers of the courts of the reformed church (editions of which usually take the unsatisfactory form of extracts) is available in the *Handlist of Scottish and Welsh Record Publications*, compiled for the British Records Association by P. Gouldesbrough, A. P. Kup, and I. Lewis (London, 1954), which, *inter alia*, lists printed material relating to the religious orders, central and local government, courts of law, family papers, the burghs, schools and universities, where assorted material of value to the early modern ecclesiastical historian may readily be found.

Indispensable works of reference include *Medieval Religious Houses Scotland*, first edition prepared by D. E. Easson (London, 1957); second revised edition by I. B. Cowan (London, 1976), which also contains an extensive bibliography of the printed sources for the pre-Reformation church (the majority of which are excluded from this critical bibliography); I. B. Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland* (Scottish Record Society [SRS], Edinburgh, 1967); and D. E. R. Watt, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ medii ævi ad annum 1638*, second draft (SRS, Edinburgh, 1969),

which lists the higher clergy in the church from earliest times to the revolt of the Covenanters. A brief biographical sketch of the bishops down to the Revolution of 1689, when episcopacy was abolished, is available in Robert Keith's *An Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops*, ed. M. Russel (Edinburgh, 1824), and a similar approach is adopted, though only for the pre-Reformation bishops, in J. Dowden *The Bishops of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1912), a work which superseded Dowden's entries in *SHR*, ii (1904-5), 61-71; v (1907-8), 447-58. Those bishops, and other clergy, appointed to serve on the College of Justice are recorded in G. Brunton and D. Haig, *An Historical Account of the Senators of the College of Justice* (Edinburgh, 1832). The pre-Reformation archbishops of St Andrews found biographers in J. Herkless and R. K. Hannay whose *Archbishops of St Andrews* (Edinburgh, 1907-15) extends to 5 vols.

A helpful, though inevitably not exhaustive, list of the parish clergy who conformed, or declined to conform, at the Reformation is provided by C. H. Haws, *Scottish Parish Clergy at the Reformation* (SRS, Edinburgh, 1972). Brief biographies of the ministers (and their assistants, the exhorters and readers) who served the new church from the Reformation onwards are recorded in the *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, edd. Hew Scott *et al.*, an enterprise which now extends to 10 vols. for the entire period from 1560 to 1976 (Edinburgh, 1915-1981) and which contains bibliographical details of local parish histories. Entries for the more prominent clergy who hit the headlines may be sought in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, edd. L. Stephen and S. Lee, and in Robert Chalmers, *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* 4 vols. (Glasgow, 1835). Scottish entries are also to be found in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, edd. G. Krause and G. Müller (Berlin, 1976). As a topographical survey of the parishes the *Origines Parochiales Scotiae* (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1851-1855), covers only the west and north of the country; and George Chalmers, *Caledonia*, 3 vols. (London, 1810-1824), also incomplete, concentrates on central and southern Scotland.

On legal matters, an area where the Reformation displaced the vast corpus of canon law, the new church developed its own procedures, sometimes borrowed from the medieval past. The subject may be readily followed in the *Introduction to Scottish Legal History* (Stair Society, Edinburgh, 1958), especially in G. Donaldson's contribution on "The Church Courts" [available also in *Scottish Church History* (1985), 40-52], which discusses both the pre-Reformation and reformed systems. Simon Ollivant casts fresh light on *The Court of the Official in Pre-Reformation Scotland* (Stair Society, Edinburgh, 1982). Legislation on parochial matters can be traced through J. M. Duncan, *Treatise on the Parochial Ecclesiastical Laws of Scotland* (second edition, Edinburgh, 1869);

and guides to the complex subject of teinds are available in J. Connell, *A Treatise on the Law of Scotland Respecting Tithes*, 2 vols. (second edition, Edinburgh, 1830) and W. Buchanan, *Treatise on the Law of Scotland on the subject of Teinds or Tithes* (Edinburgh, 1862). The territorial boundaries of ecclesiastical organisation both before and after the Reformation are conveniently portrayed in *An Historical Atlas of Scotland, c. 400-c. 1600*, edd. P. McNeill and R. Nicholson (St Andrews, 1975), a revised and enlarged edition of which is presently in preparation. The standard guide to early printed books is A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640* (London, 1956), a revised edition of which is now available.

A remarkable bibliographical guide to the writings of one Scottish theologian, active in France, John Cameron, to whom Moise Amyraut acknowledged a debt, is available in A. H. Swinne, *John Cameron, Philosoph und Theologe (1579-1625): Bibliographisch-kritische Analyse der Hand- und Druckschriften sowie der Cameron-Literatur* (Marburg, 1968), extending to 367 pages.

(b) *Primary printed sources:*

Consultation of almost any record source available for the sixteenth century is liable to yield significant material on ecclesiastical topics of one description or another. Thus no student of ecclesiastical history can afford to ignore such principal records series as *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* [APS], edd. T. Thomson and C. Innes, 12 vols. (Edinburgh, 1814-1875), of which vols. 2 (1424-1567), 3 (1567-1592) and 4 (1593-1625) contain legislation on such diverse matters as heresy, vernacular Bibles, reform of ecclesiastical abuses, worship, papal authority, church courts, jurisdiction, government, discipline, lands, benefices, manse and glebes, repair of kirks, and provision of stipends; *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 1st ser. edd. J. H. Burton and D. Masson, 14 vols. (1545-1625) (Edinburgh, 1877-1898), whose proceedings contain much valuable assorted ecclesiastical material; the *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, edd. J. M. Thomson *et al.*, 11 vols. (vols. 3-7 cover 1513-1620) (Edinburgh, 1882-1914) which records dispositions of former church lands by the crown and crown confirmations of grants of church property by ecclesiastics, as well as commissions to major offices, letters of remission and legitimation and further incidental references to churchmen; and the *Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland*, edd. M. Livingstone *et al.*, 8 vols. (1488-1584) (Edinburgh, 1908-1982), which includes gifts of escheats (including the property of forfeited heretics), gifts of ecclesiastical revenues

and property, letters of respite and of pension, appointments to lesser offices and, significantly, presentations to (and, on occasion, deprivations from) certain benefices.

Nor should it be considered unprofitable to examine the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, edd. T. Dickson *et al.*, 12 vols. (1472-1574) (Edinburgh, 1877-1970); *Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland from A.D. 1488 to A.D. 1624*, ed. R. Pitcairn, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1833); or the *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs, 1501-1554: Selections from the Acta Dominorum Concilii*, ed. R. K. Hannay (Edinburgh, 1932), for all three, *inter alia*, cast light on the recurrence of heretical activity. The *St Andrews Formulare, 1514-1546*, edd. G. Donaldson and C. Macrae (Stair Society, Edinburgh, 1942-44), essentially a style book, contains many documents prepared by a notary on behalf of the archbishops of St Andrews. Printed texts of cartularies or registers, rentals and other material relating to the religious houses, cathedrals, collegiate kirks, hospitals and university colleges are listed in *Medieval Religious Houses Scotland*, mentioned above, 32-45, to which should be added the *Mauchline Account Books of Melrose Abbey, 1527-1528*, ed. M. H. B. Sanderson, in *Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* (1975).

The heterogeneous material engrossed in the protocol books (extant from the late fifteenth century onwards) of notaries public also yield rewarding information; some sixteenth-century protocol books were published by the Scottish Record Society (for details, see *Scottish Texts and Calendars* (1987), 122-33); and J. Durkan has provided a valuable study of "The Early Scottish Notary", in *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland*, edd. I. B. Cowan and D. Shaw (Edinburgh, 1983), 22-40.

In so far as the crown had a role to play in helping to shape the pattern of ecclesiastical developments, the *Letters of James V*, ed. D. Hay (Edinburgh, 1954); the *Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine, 1543-1560*, ed. A. I. Cameron (Scottish History Society [SHS], Edinburgh, 1927); and the *Foreign Correspondence with Marie de Lorraine*, ed. M. Wood, 2 vols. (SHS, Edinburgh, 1923, 1925) illuminate the tendencies at work. The ecclesiastical dimension of English policies toward Scotland, with Scottish reaction, is richly documented in a series of *State Papers*: the *Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, edd. J. S. Brewer *et al.*, 21 vols. (London, 1864-1932); *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth I and James I*, edd. R. Lemon *et al.*, 12 vols. (London, 1856-72); *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Edward VI*, ed. W. B. Turnbull (London, 1861); *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Mary*, ed. W. B. Turnbull (London, 1861); *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth I*, edd. J. Stevenson *et al.*, 23 vols. (London, 1863-1950); and *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland*, ed. M. J.

Thorpe 2 vols. (London, 1858). Of particular value is the heterogeneous material contained in the *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603*, edd. J. Bain et al., 13 vols. (1547-1603) (Edinburgh, 1898-1969).

The competing claims of France to influence the direction of Scottish policy, with predictable consequences for religion, can be traced in *Inventaire chronologique des documents relatifs à l'histoire d'Ecosse conservés aux archives du royaume à Paris*, ed. A. Teulet (Abbotsford Club, Edinburgh, 1839); *Papiers d'état, pièces et documents inédits ou peu connus relatifs à l'histoire de l'Écosse au XV^e siècle*, ed. A. Teulet, 3 vols. (1513-1603) (Bannatyne Club, 1852-60); *Relations politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Ecosse au XVI^e*, ed. A. Teulet, 5 vols. (Paris, 1862); *Two Missions of Jacques de la Brosse: An Account of the Affairs of Scotland in the year 1543 and the Journal of the Siege of Leith, 1560*, ed. G. Dickinson (SHS, Edinburgh, 1942); and "Report by de la Brosse and D'Oysel on conditions in Scotland, 1559-1560", ed. G. Dickinson, *SHS Miscellany*, 3rd ser., ix (Edinburgh, 1958), 85-125. Printed papal correspondence is listed in I. B. Cowan, "The Medieval Church in Scotland: A Select Critical Bibliography", mentioned above.

The "popular" literature of Reformation Scotland may be sampled in *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, 1490-1555*, ed. D. Hamer 4 vols. (Scottish Text Society [STS], Edinburgh, 1931-36); *The Poetical Works of Sir David Lindsay*, ed. D. Laing, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1879); John Gau, *The Richt Vay to the Kingdom of Heuine*, ed. A. F. Mitchell (STS, Edinburgh, 1888), originally printed at Malmö as a Scots translation of a Lutheran work; *Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose*, ed. J. A. W. Bennet (STS, Edinburgh, 1955), which contains some statements on doctrine at variance with orthodox teaching; Henry Balnaves, *Confession of Faith*, otherwise known as his "Treatise on Justification by Faith", which Knox revised (Knox, Works, iii, 431-542 (see below)); George Wishart's translation of the first *Helvetic Confession of Faith* in the *Woodrow Society Miscellany*, ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh, 1844), 1-23; *The Complaynt of Scotland (c. 1550)*, ed. A. M. Stewart (STS, Edinburgh, 1979), an edition which supersedes the earlier editions by J. Leyden (Edinburgh, 1801) and J. A. H. Murray (Early English Text Society, London, 1872-3); *A Compendious book of Godly and Spiritual Songs commonly known as "The Gude and Godlie Ballatis"*, ed. A. F. Mitchell (STS, Edinburgh, 1897); *The Vernacular Writings of George Buchanan*, ed. P. H. Brown (STS, Edinburgh, 1892); *The Maitland Folio Manuscript*, ed. W. A. Craigie, 2 vols. (STS, Edinburgh, 1917, 1927); *The Maitland Quarto Manuscript*, ed. W. A. Craigie (STS, Edinburgh, 1920); and *Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation*, ed. J. Cranstoun, 2 vols. (STS,

Edinburgh, 1891-93). A work of an earlier provenance, illuminating an otherwise obscure episode in Scottish Lollardy, is Murdoch Nisbet's manuscript copy of the vernacular New Testament, a modern edition of which was prepared by T. G. Law, *The New Testament in Scots*, 3 vols. (STS, Edinburgh, 1901-1905).

The Catholic programme of intended internal reform of the church is documented in *Commentary on the Rule of St Augustine* by Robertus Richardinus, 1530, ed. G. G. Coulton (SHS, Edinburgh, 1935); *Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanae (Concilia Scotiae)*, ed. J. Robertson, 2 vols. (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1866), a translation of which exists in *Statutes of the Scottish Church, 1225-1559*, ed. D. Patrick (SHS, Edinburgh, 1907), in *The Catechism set forth by Archbishop Hamilton, together with the Two-Penny Faith*, a facsimile edition with preface by A. F. Mitchell (Edinburgh, 1882) or, alternatively, in *The Catechism of John Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews, 1552*, ed. T. G. Law (Oxford, 1884); as well as *Papal Negotiations with Mary, Queen of Scots during her reign in Scotland, 1561-1567*, ed. J. H. Pollen (SHS, Edinburgh, 1901) and Ninian Winzet, *Certane Tractatis for Reformatioun of Doctrine and Maneris in Scotland*, ed. D. Laing (Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1835) or Winzet, *Certain Tractates*, ed. J. K. Hewison, 2 vols. (STS, Edinburgh, 1888-90). James Melville's disputation against the Lutherans, published in 1530, is printed in *Wodrow Society Miscellany*, i, ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh, 1844), 29-47.

The protestant remedy is exemplified in the reformed Confession of Faith of 1560 [an edition of which was prepared by G. D. Henderson (Edinburgh, 1937), and a modern translation of which was produced by J. Bulloch under the title *The Scots Confession of 1560* (Edinburgh, 1960)], *The First Book of Discipline*, ed. J. K. Cameron (Edinburgh, 1972) and in *The Second Book of Discipline*, ed. J. Kirk (Edinburgh, 1980). The texts of catechisms are available in *Catechisms of the Scottish Reformation*, ed. H. Bonar (London, 1866), and *The School of Faith*, ed. T. F. Torrance (London, 1959) has the text of John Craig's Catechism of 1581 (pp. 97-165). The text of Robert Pont's "Little Catechism", published in Latin in 1573, is printed in *Wodrow Society Miscellany*, i, ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh, 1844), 301-18. On liturgy, *The Book of Common Order*, authorised by the general assembly in 1564, can be readily consulted in Knox's *Works*, vol. 6 (see below). John Carswell's Gaelic adaptation of the BCO, printed in 1567, is rendered in *Foirm Na N-Urrnuidheadh*, ed. R. L. Thomson (Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, Edinburgh, 1970). Later liturgical compositions may be studied in *Scottish Liturgies of James VI*, ed. G. W. Sprott (Edinburgh, 1901), "A Scottish Liturgy of the Reign of James VI", ed. G. Donaldson, *Scottish History Society Miscellany*, 4th ser. x (Edinburgh, 1965),

87-117, and *The Making of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637*, ed. G. Donaldson (Edinburgh, 1954). "A Short Forme of Evening and Morning Prayer", composed by John Davidson in 1595, is printed in *Wodrow Society Miscellany*, i, 538-40; and "The Forme and Maner of Buriall used in the Kirk of Montrois" is also reproduced in the same volume, 295-300.

Early attempts at financing the reformed ministry may be followed in the valuable *Accounts of the Collectors of Thirds of Benefices, 1561-1572*, ed. G. Donaldson (SHS, Edinburgh, 1949), in association with which should be read G. Donaldson, "The 'New Enterit Benefices', 1573-1586", *SHR*, xxxii (1953), 93-98, as well as in the *Register of Ministers, Exhorters and Readers and of their Stipends after the Period of the Reformation* (Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1830), which concentrates on the record for 1567, with some additions for the years between 1568 and 1573, and an appendix contains entries from the register of stipends for 1576, a source which can be supplemented for 1574 with abridgments from the register of stipends for that year printed in the *Wodrow Society Miscellany*, vol. i, ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh, 1844), 329-94.

The proceedings of the courts of the reformed church have usually been made available as printed extracts (see *Handlist* mentioned in (a) above); but such a selective approach, which may reflect an editor's preferences or interests, can create a misleading or, at any rate, a one-sided impression of the content of the record itself. More valuable, where they exist, are the complete printed texts of the records over a range of years. The earliest extant kirk session register dating from 1559, in whose proceedings are engrossed the records of the superintendent's court, found an industrious editor in D. Hay Fleming, who produced for the Scottish History Society, in two volumes, the *Register of the Minister, Elders ad Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St Andrews, 1559-1600* (Edinburgh, 1889-90). Also helpful is Alma B. Calderwood's edition of *The Buik of the Kirk of the Canagait, 1564-1567* (SRS, Edinburgh, 1961). The earliest surviving presbytery register, Stirling, is available in the form of *Stirling Presbytery Records, 1581-1587*, ed. J. Kirk (SHS, Edinburgh, 1981) and the earliest synod records are *The Records of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, 1589-1596, 1640-1649*, ed. J. Kirk (Stair Society, Edinburgh, 1977). *The Visitation of the Diocese of Dunblane and other churches, 1586-1589*, ed. J. Kirk (SRS, Edinburgh, 1984) is a unique, early record of the visitations conducted by an individual overseer in the area of Stirling and Dunblane. The proceedings of the early General Assemblies, the church's highest court, survive only as an incomplete transcript and, in printed form, the contents of the missing early registers have been partially reconstructed with the insertion of material derived from other contemporary, or nearly contemporary,

sources; the resulting compilation was jointly published by the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs under the title *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland from the year MDLX*, ed. T. Thomson 3 vols. and appendix vol. (Edinburgh, 1839-45). An edition by G. Donaldson of some correspondence between Theodore Beza and Lord Glamis on questions of church government is printed in the *Scottish History Society Miscellany*, 3rd ser., viii (Edinburgh, 1951), 89-113.

Collections of personal correspondence include the *Original Letters by Mr John Colville, 1582-1603*, ed. D. Laing (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1858) containing material by a former minister, who was a participant in the Ruthven raid and an adventurer who died in France in 1605, a convert to Catholicism. More valuable, as an important guide to King James' policies in the church after 1603, are the *Original Letters relating to the Ecclesiastical Affairs of Scotland*, ed. D. Laing, 2 vols. (Bannatyne Club, 1851). Assorted ecclesiastical material may be gleaned from the *Warrender Papers*, ed. A. I. Cameron and R. S. Rait, 2 vols. (SHS, Edinburgh, 1931-32); *The Spottiswoode Miscellany*, i-ii, ed. J. Maidment (Edinburgh, 1844-45); *Wodrow Society Miscellany*, i, ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh, 1844); and in *Collectanea de rebus Albanicis* (Iona Club, Edinburgh, 1833).

The Works of John Knox, ed. D. Laing, 6 vols. (Edinburgh, 1846-64) reveal assorted information on Knox's thoughts on reform, revolution, worship, and a good deal else besides. Knox's quarrels with Cox at Frankfort on Maine may be followed in *A Brief Discourse of the Troubles at Frankfort*, incorporated in Knox's *Works*, vol. 4, but the treatise is also available in separate editions, including those by E. Arber (London, 1908) and by M. A. Simpson (West Linton, 1975). Hardly any of Knox's sermons have survived; and those of his colleagues have fared little better. A sermon preached by David Fergusson in 1572 is available in *Tracts by David Fergusson, minister of Dunfermline, MDLXIII-MDLXXII*, ed. J. Lee (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1860); and some sermons by Robert Bruce, later minister in Edinburgh, are readily accessible in *Sermons by the Rev. Robert Bruce*, ed. W. Cunningham (Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1843). Certain writings of Robert Rollock, principal of Edinburgh university and minister of Greyfriars, are collected in his *Select Works*, ed. W. Gunn, 2 vols. (Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1844-49). An edition of the *Letters of John Johnston c. 1565-1611 and Robert Howie c. 1565-c.1645*, two figures prominent in ecclesiastical and academic life, has been prepared by J. K. Cameron (Edinburgh, 1963). The somewhat slender *Tracts by David Fergusson*, mentioned above, shed some light on financial and other problems affecting the kirk. Details of the publications of other ministers may be sought in the biographical entries in Hew Scott's *Fasti* (see (a) above).

Some valuable papers associated with John Erskine of Dun, in the *Spalding Club Miscellany*, iv, ed. J. Stuart (Aberdeen, 1849), effectively demonstrate the fallacy in proclaiming Andrew Melville the Scottish innovator of the two kingdoms' theory. The political theories of the Englishman, Christopher Goodman, Knox's friend at Geneva and an activist in Scotland as minister at Ayr and St Andrews, may be studied in *How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyed* (Facsimile Text Society, New York, 1931), and the ideas of George Buchanan, elected moderator of the General Assembly in 1567, may be explored in his *Opera Omnia*, ed. T. Ruddiman, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1715; Leiden, 1725). An English translation of the *De Jure Regni Apud Scotos* by D. H. MacNeill appeared under the eccentric title *The Art and Science of Government among the Scots* (Glasgow, 1964). In repudiating such a political philosophy and in denouncing presbyterian theory, James VI produced in 1599, for the instruction of Prince Henry, *Basilicon Doron*, ed. J. Craigie, 2 vols. (STS, Edinburgh, 1944, 1950). See also *The Political Works of James I*, ed. C. H. McIlwain (Cambridge, Mass., 1918).

The writings and attitudes of Roman Catholics during and after the Reformation can be sampled in *Papal Negotiations with Mary, Queen of Scots during her Reign in Scotland, 1561-1567*, ed. J. H. Pollen (SHS, Edinburgh, 1901); *A Letter from Mary, Queen of Scots to the Duke of Guise, January 1562*, ed. J. H. Pollen (SHS, Edinburgh, 1904); *Catholic Tractates of the Sixteenth Century, 1573-1600*, ed. T. G. Law (STS, Edinburgh, 1901) for the writings of James Tyrie, John Hay, John Hamilton, Nicol Burne and others; *Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James VI*, ed. W. Forbes-Leith (Edinburgh, 1885); Ninian Winzet, *Certane Tractates* (mentioned above); Quintin Kennedy, "Ane Compendius Tractive" [1558], together with John Davidson's reply [1563], in *Wodrow Society Miscellany*, i, ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh, 1844), 95-258 (and the same volume also contains some of Kennedy's correspondence with Archbishop Beaton and John Willock in 1559, 265-77); *Quintin Kennedy (1520-1564): Two Eucharistic Tracts: A Critical Edition*, ed. C. H. Kuipers (Nijmegen, 1964). A later episode in the Catholic mission is documented in the *Irish Franciscan Mission to Scotland, 1619-1646*, ed. C. Giblin (Dublin, 1964).

By the mid-sixteenth century, narrative works in the form of histories, diaries and memoirs become more common, though hardly plentiful. As literature, Knox's *History of the Reformation* is a masterpiece; as history, it plainly needs careful handling, but the bias is self-evident, the distortion usually obvious, factual inaccuracies in the narrative are comparatively slender, and the work itself is valuable both for the insights afforded by one protagonist and for the range of documents incorporated in the

text. The best edition is that provided by David Laing, who included the *History* as vols. 1 and 2 of *The Works of John Knox* (see above). A more recent edition, with modernised spelling, *John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland*, ed. W. C. Dickinson, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1949), has the advantage of possessing a superior index. Curiously omitted from the bibliography attached to Dickinson's edition is the work of Knox's amanuensis, Richard Bannatyne, whose *Memoriales of Transactions in Scotland, MDLXIX-MDLXXIII*, ed. R. Pitcairn (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1836) provides a narrative of events during the period of civil war. An earlier edition of this work appeared under the variant title of *Journal of the Transactions in Scotland*, ed. J. D. Dalrymple (Edinburgh, 1806).

A Roman Catholic counterpoise to Knox exists in John Leslie's *The Historie of Scotland, wrytten first in Latin by the most reverend and worthy Jhone Leslie, Bishop of Rosse, and translated in Scottish by Father James Dalrymple* [transl. 1596], ed. E. G. Cody and W. Murison, 2 vols. (STS, Edinburgh, 1888, 1895). An earlier version of Leslie's work, before he undertook rewriting his history in Latin, is available as *The History of Scotland, from the Death of King James I to the year 1561*, ed. T. Thomson (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1830). If Leslie was understandably pro-Mary, George Buchanan became her great detractor in his *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (1582), available in translation as his *History of Scotland*, ed. J. Aikman, 4 vols. (Glasgow, 1827); and W. A. Gatherer compiled *The Tyrannous Reign of Mary Stewart: George Buchanan's Account* (Edinburgh, 1958). Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, a protestant laird in Fife, who produced his *Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, ed. Æ. J. G. Mackay, 3 vols. (STS, Edinburgh, 1899-1911) is credulous, fanciful and, consequently, unreliable for earlier periods but more trustworthy when narrating contemporary events of which he had direct knowledge. The anonymous "Historie of the Estate of Scotland", which survives as a late seventeenth-century transcript of a portion of an earlier work, covers a crucial period of the Reformation from July 1558 to April 1560, and is printed in the *Wodrow Society Miscellany*, i, ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh, 1842), 53-85; and, also anonymous, *A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents that have passed within the country of Scotland since the death of King James the Fourth till the year 1575*, ed. T. Thomson (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, Edinburgh, 1833) concentrates largely on the period 1559-1573. A third anonymous work is *The Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, ed. T. Thomson (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1825).

Continuing the historiographical tradition begun by Knox, the presbyterian David Calderwood (1575-1650) produced his substantial *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed. T. Thomson (vols. i-vii) and D. Laing (vol. viii), 8 vols. (Wodrow Society, Edinburgh,

1842-49) which is very largely a collection of documents with linking commentary; and another presbyterian minister, John Row (1568-1646), composed his *History of the Kirk of Scotland from the year 1558 to August 1637*, ed. D. Laing (Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1842), based partly on material left by his father-in-law, David Fergusson, minister of Dunfermline. By contrast, Archbishop John Spottiswoode's *History of the Church of Scotland*, ed. M. Russell (vol. i) and M. Napier (vols. ii and iii), 3 vols. (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1850; Spottiswoode Society, Edinburgh, 1851-65) reflects the royal and episcopal party line.

Autobiographical works have survived in James Melville of Halhill's *Memoirs of his own Life*, ed. T. Thomson (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, Edinburgh, 1827, 1833), narrated by a diplomat for the period 1549-93 [other editions include those of A. F. Steuart (London, 1929) and G. Donaldson (Folio Society, London, 1969)]; and in *The Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melvill*, ed. R. Pitcairn (Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1842) [another edition, ed. G. R. Kinloch (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1829)], a fascinating and valuable work (wrongly evaluated as "hagiography"), written by the sympathetic nephew of Andrew Melville.

Other useful memoirs and diaries of the period include David Moysie, *Memoirs of the affairs of Scotland . . . from 1577 . . . to 1603*, ed. J. Dennistoun (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, Edinburgh, 1830); and Lord Herries, *Historical Memoirs of the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots and a portion of the Reign of King James VI*, ed. R. Pitcairn (Abbotsford Club, Edinburgh, 1836). The "Diary of Robert Birrel, Burgess of Edinburgh, 1532-1605", is located in *Fragments of Scottish History*, ed. J. G. Dalyell (Edinburgh, 1798). *An Apologetical Narration of the State and Government of the Kirk of Scotland*, by William Scot (1558-1642), the fervid presbyterian minister at Cupar, and *Certaine Records touching the Estate of the Kirk in the years MDCV & MDCVI*, by John Forbes (c. 1570-1634), a staunch presbyterian minister at Alford, were edited by David Laing and published as one volume for the Wodrow Society (Edinburgh, 1846). Another presbyterian, Alexander Hume, minister of Logie, produced in 1608 or 1609 "Ane afold admonitioun to the ministrie of Scotland", printed in *Wodrow Society Miscellany*, i, 569-90. Biographical material relating to some presbyterian ministers, including John Welsh, and Patrick and Archibald Simson, is drawn together in *Select Biographies*, ed. W. K. Tweedie, 2 vols. (Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1845-47). Thomas Dempster provides some unique biographical sketches in *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, ed. D. Irving, 2 vols. (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1829).

The universities, which were, in a sense, extensions of the church, and a nursery for the ministry, can be studied in *Evidence*,

oral and documentary, taken by the Commissioners appointed by King George IV, for visiting the Universities of Scotland, 4 vols. (London, 1837); *Fasti Aberdonenses, Selections from the Records of the University and King's College of Aberdeen*, ed. C. Innes (Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1854); *Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis*, ed. P. J. Anderson, vol. 1 (New Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1889); *Officers and Graduates of the University and King's College, Aberdeen*, ed. P. J. Anderson (New Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1893); *A Catalogue of the Graduates in the Faculties of Arts, Divinity and Law of the University of Edinburgh since its foundation* (Edinburgh, 1858); *Charters, Statutes and Acts of the Town Council and the Senatus, 1583-1858*, ed. A. Morgan (Edinburgh, 1937); *Munimenta Aline Universitatis Glasguensis*, ed. C. Innes, 4 vols. (Maitland Club, Glasgow, 1854); *Deeds instituting Bursaries, Scholarships and other foundations in the College and University of Glasgow*, ed. W. Thomson (Maitland Club, Glasgow, 1850); *Statutes of the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Theology in the Period of the Reformation*, ed. R. K. Hannay (St Andrews, 1910); *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree, 1413-1588*, ed. A. I. Dunlop (SHS, Edinburgh, 1964); and *Early Records of the University of St Andrews*, ed. J. M. Anderson (SHS, Edinburgh, 1926).

For those disinclined to blow the stour from the printed sources, "a selection of excerpts from the more important sources" was successfully brought together in *A Source Book of Scottish History*, edd. W. C. Dickinson, G. Donaldson and I. A. Milne, 3 vols. (vol. ii, 1424-1567; vol. iii, 1567-1707) (revised edition, Edinburgh, 1958-61). *Scottish Historical Documents*, ed. G. Donaldson (Edinburgh, 1970), while valuable, did not attain the acclaim of the *Source Book*. Further selections from sources are to be found in *Scotland before 1700 from contemporary documents*, ed. P. H. Brown (Edinburgh, 1893) and *Blast and Counterblast: Contemporary Writings on the Scottish Reformation*, ed. I. B. Cowan (Edinburgh, 1960).

(c) *Secondary Literature:*

1. General Works

Occupying an intermediate position between primary and secondary sources is Robert Keith, *History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland from the beginning of the Reformation to the year 1568*, ed. J. P. Lawson, 3 vols. (Spottiswoode Society, Edinburgh, 1844-50), a work originally prepared by Bishop Keith in the 1730s and of particular value for the source material which Keith collected and incorporated in his history. Other elderly works, though dated in interpretation, have

still useful information to impart. Histories surveying the period include J. Cunningham, *The Church History of Scotland*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1882) of which volume 1 is devoted to the Reformation; G. Grub, *An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1861), vol. 2 of which covers the period 1521 to 1638; T. McCrie, *Sketches of Scottish Church History*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1846-49); J. Lee, *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland*, ed. W. Lee, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1860) for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; A. R. MacEwen, *A History of the Church in Scotland*, 2 vols. (London, 1913, 1918) which ends prematurely at the Reformation; T. Stephen, *History of the Church of Scotland*, 4 vols. (London, 1848) which begins with Archbishop James Beaton's primacy in 1522; T. Brown, *Church and State in Scotland, 1560-1843* (Edinburgh, 1891), which starts with the era of Reformation; and R. S. Story edited *The Church of Scotland*, 5 vols. (London, 1890), arranged on a thematic basis in which a variety of contributors examined such topics as doctrine, discipline, ritual and relations between church and state. The main survey of Catholicism, innovative in its day, is A. Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland*, trans. D. O. Hunter-Blair, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1887-90.)

W. L. Mathieson, *Politics and Religion in Scotland, 1550-1695*, 2 vols. (Glasgow, 1902) is serviceable and reliable, and there is still a good deal to be gleaned from J. H. S. Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland* (Oxford, 1960), which devotes five chapters to the period. A survey of ecclesiastical history in the Highlands exists in J. Mackay, *The Church in the Highlands* (London, 1914). Some insights of particular episodes in Scottish church history are afforded by less detailed studies: G. Donaldson, *Scotland, Church and Nation through Sixteen Centuries* (Edinburgh, 1960; 1972), R. S. Loudon *The True Face of the Kirk: An examination of the ethos and traditions of the Church of Scotland* (London, 1963), J. M. Reid, *Kirk and Nation: the story of the Reformed Church of Scotland* (London, 1960), and A. L. Drummond, *The Kirk and the Continent* (Edinburgh, 1956).

More recent, detailed appraisals of the period are available in G. Donaldson, *Scotland: James V to James VII* (Edinburgh, 1965), which has extensive coverage of the church; and J. Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland, 1470-1625* (London, 1981), with a spirited section on the Reformation, in which the author, refreshingly, observes how politics explain *when*, not *why*, the Reformation came about. Both authors have chapters on the church and politics respectively for the period 1567-1625 in *The Reign of James VI and I*, ed. A. R. G. Smith (London, 1973). The most valuable single chapter on the Reformation movement is "The Shaping of a Revolution" in G. Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men: Power and Politics in Mary Stewart's Scotland* (London,

1983), which illustrates how "some recent assessments have underestimated the strength of attachment to the cause of reform". For the early seventeenth century, W. R. Foster, *The Church before the Covenants: the Church of Scotland, 1596-1638* (Edinburgh, 1975) is essentially a study in ecclesiastical administration.

On the Reformation itself, there is no discernible shortage of specialist works. Some distinguished ecclesiastical historians in the nineteenth century who were active in this field have put on record their findings: P. Lorimer, *The Scottish Reformation* (London, 1860); A. F. Mitchell, *The Scottish Reformation*, ed. D. H. Fleming (London, 1900); and D. H. Fleming, *The Reformation in Scotland* (London, 1910) are all pioneering works of scholarship which have withstood the test of time, regardless of the interpretations offered. But even the history of the Reformation requires occasionally to be rewritten, and the quatercentenary in 1960 provided the opportunity for the launching of G. Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation* (Cambridge, 1960), a challenging and controversial work, which remains the best single study of the subject because Professor Donaldson wrote with an authority which sprang from a mastery of the original sources.

Other works to appear on the subject have lacked that familiarity with the primary source material, and have usually taken the form of syntheses of the current state of knowledge. These, too, can be of value in drawing together findings published elsewhere in assorted literature on various aspects of the Reformation. Thus J. D. Mackie, *A History of the Scottish Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1960) provided a concise and lucid account of the factors at work. A. M. Renwick, *The Story of the Scottish Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1960) was less successful. More recently, I. B. Cowan, *The Scottish Reformation: Church and Society in sixteenth-century Scotland* (London, 1982), by adopting this approach, was able to tackle the subject on a basis much wider than Professor Donaldson chose to explore, and, in addition to much work on the late medieval church, he was able to incorporate the findings of some recent research on the evolution of the reformed polity.

A third approach, adopted by the Scottish Catholic Historical Association, with considerable effect, in recognition no doubt that the subject was too large for any individual historian to handle successfully, was to produce a collection of articles on a variety of themes — parish clergy, the hierarchy, the papacy, councils, education, the poor, culture, doctrine, literature, politics, destruction and repression. This was successfully achieved in the valuable *Essays on the Scottish Reformation, 1513-1625*, ed. D. McRoberts (Glasgow, 1962), reprinted from contributions to the *Innes Review* [IR], x (1959).

This kind of arrangement was also utilised in *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: Essays in Honour of Gordon Donaldson* (Edinburgh, 1983), which, though lacking the cohesion of the preceding volume, contains a series of scholarly essays on such assorted subjects as notaries, finance, ecclesiastical patronage, literacy, politics, the merchant community, a bishop's library, witchcraft and relations with Denmark, Shetland and Italy, but the central issue of the Reformation itself was curiously avoided. In another collection, this time largely composed of previously published writings by a single author, G. Donaldson, *Scottish Church History* (Edinburgh, 1985) offers illumination on aspects of "the institutional history of the Scottish Church" (details below) as well as invective directed at fellow historians deemed to suffer from disorders ranging from "myopia" to "blindness"; so far, awards for double- and tunnel-vision have not been allocated. The central section, by various contributors, in *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408-1929*, ed. N. Macdougall (Edinburgh, 1983) is devoted to Reformation topics. A much earlier selection of writings, still of historical value, is T. G. Law, *Collected Essays*, ed. P. H. Brown (Edinburgh, 1904).

A collective biographical approach, which can sometimes be revealing, is represented in C. Rogers, *Three Scottish Reformers* (Grampian Club, London, 1876) [for the fifth Earl of Glencairn, Henry Balnaves and John Davidson, minister of Prestonpans] (also printed as "Three Poets of the Scottish Reformation", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society [TRHS]*, iii (London, 1876), 163-294); K. Hewat, *Makers of the Scottish Church at the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1920) [for Craig, Douglas, Knox, Row, Spottiswoode, Willock and Winram]; and in *Fathers of the Kirk*, ed. R. S. Wright (Oxford, 1960) [which includes Knox, Erskine of Dun, David Lindsay, Melville and Archbishop Spottiswoode]. The political background to the Reformation and the crucial role of Mary's half-brother, Lord James Stewart are explored in M. Lee, *James Stewart, earl of Moray: a political study of the Reformation in Scotland* (New York, 1953).

2. Pre-1560 Reformation Studies

For the pre-Reformation church, the religious orders have come under scrutiny from G. G. Coulton, *Scottish Abbeys and Social life* (Cambridge, 1933); W. M. Bryce, *The Scottish Grey Friars* (Edinburgh, 1909); M. Dilworth, "Literacy of Pre-Reformation Monks", *IR*, xxiv (1973), 71-72; M. Dilworth, "The Border Abbeys in the Sixteenth Century", *RSCHS*, xxi (1983), 233-47; M. Dilworth, "The Commendator System in Scotland", *IR*, xxxvii (1986), 51-72; and A. Ross, "The Scottish Conventual Franciscan Province", *IR*, xiii (1962), 220-21. Articles on individual monasteries include I. B. Cowan, "Ayrshire Abbeys,

Crossraguel and Kilwinning", *Ayrshire Collections*, xiv, no. 7 (1986), 267-95; J. Durkan, "Paisley Abbey in the Sixteenth Century", *IR*, xxvii (1976), 110-26; M. Dilworth, "The Augustinian Chapter of St Andrews", *IR*, xxv (1974), 15-30; A. L. Brown and A. A. M. Duncan, "The Cistercian Abbey of Saddell, Kintyre", *IR*, xx (1969), 130-37; and M. Dilworth, "Coldingham Priory and the Reformation", *IR*, xxiii (1972), 115-37. The fate of the monasteries at the Reformation is considered by D. E. Easson, "The Reformation and the Monasteries in Scotland and England: Some Comparisons", *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, xv (1957), 7-22; and W. S. Reid discussed the problem of "Clerical Taxation: the Scottish Alternative to Dissolution of the Monasteries, 1530-1560", *Catholic Historical Review*, xxxv (1948), 129-53, a subject which also came within the scope of R. K. Hannay, *The College of Justice* (Edinburgh, 1933); C. H. Haws contributed an assessment of the "Scottish Religious Orders at the Reformation", *RSCHS*, xvi (1969), 203-24; and a note on the Dominicans is provided in J. Durkan, "The Dominicans at the Reformation", ix (1958), 216-17. The role of monks who conformed at the Reformation and served in the reformed ministry is examined in M. Dilworth, "Monks and Ministers after 1560", *RSCHS*, xviii (1974), 201-21. Other works on particular religious houses may be traced through *Medieval Religious Houses Scotland* (mentioned in (a) above).

In the parishes, the vital work of humble chaplains is documented in J. Durkan, "Chaplains in Scotland in the Late Middle Ages", *RSCHS*, xx (1979), 91-103; and problems associated with the system of appropriation are explored in I. B. Cowan, "Some Aspects of the Appropriation of Parish Churches in Medieval Scotland", *RSCHS*, xiii (1959), 203-22, and in I. B. Cowan, "Vicarages and the Cure of Souls in Medieval Scotland", *RSCHS*, xvi (1967), 111-27. The cure of souls in one particular diocese, Dunblane, may be approached through the lists provided in J. H. Cockburn, "Parochial Clergy in the Medieval Diocese of Dunblane", *Journal of the Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral*, vii (1960-1), 110-22, 146-53; ix (1962-65), 20-24, 70-75, 111-16; and through J. R. Todd, "Pre-Reformation Cure of Souls in Dunblane Diocese", *IR*, xxvi (1975), 27-42. The theme of "Scottish Burgh Churches in the Fifteenth Century" is investigated by W. E. K. Rankin in *RSCHS*, vii (1949), 63-75, and the practice of "Remissions and Indulgences in Fifteenth-Century Scotland" receives attention from A. I. Dunlop in *RSCHS*, xv (1966), 153-67. D. McKay explores "Parish Life in Scotland, 1500-1560", in *IR*, x (1959), 237-67; and the phenomenon of the parish clerk has been extensively studied by D. McKay in a series of contributions including "Parish Clerks called Clark", *IR*, xv (1964), 95-6; "The Election of Parish Clerks in Medieval Scotland", *IR*, xviii (1967),

25-35; "The Duties of the Medieval Parish Clerk", xix (1968), 32-9; "The Induction of the Parish Clerk in Medieval Scotland", *IR*, xx (1969), 59-67; and "Ayrshire Parish Clerks", *Ayrshire Collections*, vii (1966), 39-46.

The significance of relations with Rome, at various levels, may be traced in R. K. Hannay, *The Scottish Crown and the Papacy, 1424-1560* (Historical Association of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1931); W. J. Anderson, "Rome and Scotland, 1513-1625", *IR*, x (1959), 173-93; R. K. Hannay, "Letters of the Papal Legate in Scotland, 1543", *SHR*, xi (1913-14), 1-26; J. E. Law and J. M. Manion, "The nunciature to Scotland in 1548 of Pietro Lippomano, Bishop of Verona", *Attie Memoria della Academia di Agricoltura Scienze e Lettere de Verona*, xxii, 403-48; C. Burns, "Papal Gifts to Scottish Monarchs: the Golden Rose and the Blessed Sword", *IR*, xx (1969), 150-94; L. J. Macfarlane, "The Primacy of the Scottish Church, 1472-1521", *IR*, xx (1969), 111-29; and I. B. Cowan, "Patronage, Provision and Reservation: Pre-Reformation Appointments to Scottish Benefices", *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland*, edd. I. B. Cowan and D. Shaw (Edinburgh, 1983), 75-92.

The development of the conciliar movement can be followed in J. H. Burns, "The Conciliarist Tradition in Scotland", *SHR*, xlii (1963), 89-104; C. Burns, "Scottish Bishops at the General Councils of the Late Middle Ages", *IR*, xvi (1965), 135-37; J. H. Burns, "Scottish Churchmen and the Council of Basle", *IR*, xiii (1962), 3-53, 157-89 (reprinted as a volume, Glasgow, 1962); T. Winning, "Church Councils in Sixteenth-Century Scotland", *IR*, x (1959), 311-37.

The work of the series of provincial councils of the Scottish church which met between 1549 and 1559 to effect internal reform is discussed in J. H. S. Burleigh, "The Scottish Reforming Councils, 1549 to 1559", *RSCHS*, xi (1953), 189-211; and in W. S. Reid, "The Scottish Counter-Reformation before 1560", *Church History*, xiv (1945), 104-25. For an earlier period, L. J. Macfarlane seeks to answer the question "Was the Scottish Church reformable by 1513?", *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408-1929*, ed. N. Macdougall (Edinburgh, 1983), 23-43. Dr Macfarlane concludes that it was; but does not explore whether the remedy was effectively applied across the nation. The reformist "Bishop Reid of Orkney" is briefly discussed in a slender note by I. Keillar in *Northern Studies*, vi (1975), 39-42. W. J. Anderson contributed a note, in *IR*, x (1959), 287-89, on "The 'Twopenny Faith'", an exhortation on the Eucharist, issued as part of the programme of internal reform.

The subject of Catholic reform has received fresh and stimulating treatment in J. K. Cameron, "'Catholic Reform' in Germany and in the Pre-1560 Church in Scotland", *RSCHS*, xx (1979), 105-117, and J. K. Cameron, "The Cologne Reformation

and the Church of Scotland", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxx (1979), 39-64.

Few systematic studies of the men who led the church in the early sixteenth century have so far emerged. One outstanding example of what can be achieved through biography is M. H. B. Sanderson's pioneering *Cardinal of Scotland: David Beaton c. 1494-1546* (Edinburgh, 1986), an impressive and important study which more than replaces J. Herkless, *Cardinal Beaton: Priest and Politician* (Edinburgh, 1891). The pre-Reformation bishops of Dunblane, receive treatment in J. H. Cockburn, *The Medieval Bishops of Dunblane and their Cathedral* (Edinburgh, 1959); and more extended treatment for St Andrews is afforded in J. Herkless and R. K. Hannay, *The Archbishops of St Andrews*, 5 vols. (Edinburgh, 1907-14). The archbishops of Glasgow have been served less well, though W. J. Anderson has commented "On the Early Career of James Beaton II, Archbishop of Glasgow", in *IR*, xvi (1965), 221-4, and for a later episode M. Dilworth has drawn attention to "Archbishop Beaton's Papers in the Scottish Catholic Archives", in *IR*, xxxiv (1983), 3-8. A general discussion of "The Scottish Hierarchy, 1513-1565" is provided by M. Mahoney in *IR*, x (1959), 21-66.

"The Bishops' Barony of Glasgow in Pre-Reformation Times" is studied by J. Durkan, in *RSCHS*, xxii (1986), 277-301; an assessment of episcopal revenues in one diocese is forthcoming in A. L. Murray, "The revenues of the bishopric of Moray in 1538", *IR*, xix (1968), 40-56; and the broader issue of the fate of ecclesiastical property at the Reformation is tentatively treated in R. K. Hannay, "On the Church Lands at the Reformation", *SHR*, xvi (1918), 52-72.

In legal matters, where the church exercised an extensive jurisdiction, the work of canonist William Hay is discussed in J. C. Barry, "William Hay of Aberdeen: A Sixteenth-Century Scottish theologian and Canonist", *IR*, ii, 82-99; and other legal topics are explored in A. E. Anton, "Medieval Scottish Executors and the Courts Spiritual", *Juridical Review*, lxvii (1955), 129-54; G. Donaldson, "Inter-diocesan and inter-provincial communication before and after the Reformation", *RSCHS*, xxii (1958), 73-81 (revised under the more attractive title "Justice Across Frontiers", in G. Donaldson, *Scottish Church History* (Edinburgh, 1985), 53-59); W. S. Reid, "A Sixteenth-Century Marriage Contract between Sir James Sandilands of Calder and Robert Barnton of Over Barnton", *SHR*, xxviii (1949), 58-62; as well as in the contributions on ecclesiastical law in *Introduction to Scottish Legal History* (Stair Society, Edinburgh, 1958), including G. Donaldson, "The Church Courts", a revised version of which appeared in *Scottish Church History*, 40-52.

Political issues have received treatment in J. H. Burns, "The

Political Background of the Scottish Reformation'', *IR*, x (1959), 199-236; J. H. Burns, "The Political Ideas of the Scottish Reformation'', *Aberdeen University Review*, xxxvi (1955-56), 251-68; and R. Mason, "Covenant and Commonwealth: the language of politics in Reformation Scotland'', in *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408-1929*, ed. N. Macdougall (Edinburgh, 1983), 97-126. The role of nationalism is discussed by W. S. Reid, in "The Nationalism of the Scottish Reformation'', *Scottish Tradition*, iii, no. 1 (spring 1973), 22-31. In an essay of wider remit, R. G. Cant examined "Scottish Libertarianism in Theory and Practice, 1560-1690'', *Proceedings of the Conference on Scottish Studies (Old Dominion)*, iii (1976), 20-31.

"Material Destruction Caused by the Scottish Reformation" is the subject of an article by D. McRobert, *IR*, x (1959), 126-72. G. Donaldson provided a rather different interpretation on the fate of various ecclesiastical buildings, in *The Scottish Reformation* (Cambridge, 1960), 96-100.

3. Social Studies before and after 1560

The social context in which the church operated and from which the movement for reform accelerated has been the subject of a series of impressive and innovative studies by M. H. B. Sanderson: "'Kin, Freindis and Servandis', The Men who worked with Archbishop David Beaton'', *IR*, xxv (1974), 31-48; "Kirkmen and their tenants in the era of the Reformation'', *RSCHS*, xviii (1972), 26-42; "The Feuars of Kirklands'', *SHR*, lii (1973), 117-36; "The feuing of Strathisla: a study in sixteenth-century social history'', *Northern Scotland*, ii (1974-75), 1-11; "Some Aspects of the Church in Scottish Society in the era of the Reformation'', *RSCHS*, xvii (1970), 81-98; "Manse and Glebe in the Sixteenth Century'', *RSCHS*, xix (1975), 81-92; "Kilwinning at the time of the Reformation and its first minister William Kirkpatrick'', *Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, x (1970-72), 101-29; "The People of Sixteenth-Century Ayrshire'', *Ayrshire Collections*, xiv (1987), *Mary Stewart's People* (Edinburgh, 1987) and, most importantly, *Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1982). The subject of poor-relief requires further attention but may be studied in J. Durkan, "Care of the Poor: Pre-Reformation Hospitals'', *IR*, x (1959), 268-80; and, from the seventeenth century onwards, in J. M. McPherson, *The Kirk's Care of the Poor* (Aberdeen, 1941). R. Mitchison has also contributed "The making of the Old Scottish Poor Law'', in *Past and Present*, lxiii (1974), 58-93. W. S. Reid has drawn attention to "The Middle-Class Factor in the Scottish Reformation'', *Church History*, xvi (1947), 137-53; and, for the period after 1560, an interesting appraisal on "Church and Society in Post-Reformation

Scotland” is provided by I. B. Cowan in *RSCHS*, xvii (1970), 185-201. A. Ross looks at the “Reformation and Repression”, *IR*, x (1959), 338-81; and “The Development of Sabbatarianism in Scotland, 1560-1650” is explored by R. D. Brackenridge in *Journal of Presbyterian History*, xlii (1964), 149-65. “The Social Impact of the Clergy of the Reformed Kirk of Scotland” is studied by R. Mitchison, in *Scotia: American-Canadian Journal of Scottish Studies*, vi (1982), 1-13. The phenomenon of witchcraft is fully covered in C. Lerner, *Enemies of God: the Witch-hunt in Scotland* (London, 1981); and E. J. Cowan explores a manifestation of the phenomenon in “The Darker Vision of the Scottish Renaissance: the Devil and Francis Stewart”, *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland*, edd. I. B. Cowan and D. Shaw (Edinburgh, 1983), 125-40.

4. Protestant Reform

The antecedents to protestant reform in Scotland were traced by John Knox to the “Lollards of Kyle”, with whom Knox chose to begin his *History*. The persistence of this group has been described as “inexplicable” but there is nothing inexplicable about the radical views attributed to these Ayrshire lairds, some of whose descendants displayed a singular solicitude for Lutheranism. The trouble is adequate documentation has not survived, and such information which does exist is presented in J. A. F. Thomson, *The Later Lollards* (Oxford, 1965), which touches on Scotland; in T. M. A. Macnab, “Bohemia and the Scottish Lollards”, *RSCHS*, v. (1935), 23-39, and the same author’s “The Beginnings of Lollardy in Scotland”, *RSCHS*, xi (1953), 254-60, and in W. S. Reid, “The Lollards in Pre-Reformation Scotland”, *Church History*, xi (1942), 269-83. T. M. A. Macnab also contributed “The New Testament in Scots”, *RSCHS*, xi (1951), 82-103.

The effects of Luther’s revolt of 1517 can best be followed in a series of helpful studies: J. K. Cameron, “Aspects of the Lutheran Contribution to the Scottish Reformation”, *RSCHS*, xxii (1984), 1-13; J. H. Baxter, “Luthers Einfluss in Schottland in 16 Jht”, *Luther Jahrbuch* (1958), 99-109; W. S. Reid, “Lutheranism in the Scottish Reformation”, *Westminster Theological Journal*, vii (1944-45), 91-111; J. T. McNeill, “Alexander Alesius, Scottish Lutheran (1500-1565)”, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, lv (1964), 161-91 (for Alesius, see also: J. H. Baxter, “Alesius and other Reformed Refugees in Germany”, *RSCHS*, v (1934), 93-102; and A. F. S. Pearson, “Alexander Alesius and the English Reformation”, *RSCHS*, x (1949), 57-87); R. Haas, *Franz Lambert und Patrick Hamilton in ihrer Bedeutung für die Evangelische Bewegung auf den Britischen Inseln* (Marburg, 1973); P. Lorimer, *Precursors of Knox: Patrick Hamilton* (Edinburgh, 1857); I. R. Torrance, “Patrick Hamilton and John Knox: a study in

the doctrine of justification by faith", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, lxx (1974), 171-85; G. Müller, "Protestant Theology in Scotland and Germany in the early days of the Reformation", *RSCHS*, xxii (1984), 103-117; G. Wiedermann, "Martin Luther versus John Fisher: Some Ideas concerning the Debate on Lutheran Theology at the University of St Andrews, 1525-30", *RSCHS*, xxii (1984), 13-34; J. K. Cameron, "John Johnstone's *An Comfortable Exhortation of our mooste holy Christen faith and her frutes*: an early example of Scots Lutheran piety", *Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent c. 1500-c.1750*, ed. D. Baker (*Studies in Church History, Subsidia* 2, Oxford, 1979), 133-47; D. H. Fleming, *The Martyrs and Confessors of St Andrews* (Cupar, 1887); J. Durkan, "Some Local Heretics", *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society [TDGNHAS]*, xxxvi (1959), 67-77; J. Durkan, "Scottish 'Evangelicals' in the Patronage of Thomas Cromwell", *RSCHS*, xxi (1982), 127-56; A. F. Mitchell, *The Wedderburns and their Work* (Edinburgh, 1867) and A. Wedderburn, *The Wedderburn Book*, 2 vols. (Dundee, 1898). Henry Balnaves, author of a treatise on justification by faith, receives brief treatment in H. Watt, "Henry Balnaves and the Scottish Reformation", *RSCHS*, v (1935), 23-29.

The doctrinal issues are succinctly discussed in M. Taylor "The Conflicting Doctrines of the Scottish Reformation", *IR*, x (1959), 97-125; and the circulation of reformers' writings is examined in Brother Kenneth, "The Popular Literature of the Scottish Reformation", *IR*, x (1959), 295-310.

The growth of protestantism as an underground movement of secret congregations is examined in J. Kirk, "The 'Privy Kirks' and their Antecedents: the Hidden Face of Scottish Protestantism", *Voluntary Religion*, edd. W. J. Sheils and D. Wood (*Studies in Church History*, 23, Oxford, 1986), 155-70. The political dimension of Anglophile and reforming tendencies in Scotland is explored in a valuable contribution by M. Merriman, "The assured Scots: Scottish collaborators with England during the Rough Wooing", *SHR*, xlvii (1968), 10-34; and the same author discussed "War and Propaganda during the 'Rough Wooing'", in *Scottish Tradition*, ix/x (1979-80), 20-30.

As the Reformation progressed, the influence of the more radical Swiss doctrines began to prevail at the expense of earlier Lutheran views. The significance for Scotland of the arrival of the ideas of Zwingli from Zürich, often associated with the mission of George Wishart, is evaluated in D. Shaw, "Zwinglian Influences on the Scottish Reformation", *RSCHS*, xxii (1985), 119-39; and Wishart himself is assessed in C. Rogers, *Life of George Wishart* (Edinburgh, 1876) [see also C. Rogers, "Memoir of George Wishart, the Scottish Martyr", *TRHS*, iv (1876), 260-363]; and J.

Durkan has supplied a note on "George Wishart: his early life" in *SHR*, xxxii (1953), 98-99.

The succeeding wave of Calvinism is explored in J. Kirk, "The Influence of Calvinism on the Scottish Reformation", *RSCHS*, xviii (1974), 157-79; "The Scots Confession of 1560" is assessed by A. C. Cheyne in *Theology Today*, xvii, no. 3 (October 1960), 323-38; and "Scottish Calvinism and the Principle of Intolerance" is the wider theme examined by J. K. Cameron in *Reformatio Perennis: Essays on Calvin and the Reformation*, ed. B. A. Gerrish (Pittsburgh, 1981), 113-28. G. Johnston has contributed two articles on "Scripture in the Scottish Reformation", in *Canadian Journal of Theology*, viii (1962), 249-57; ix (1963), 40-49.

5. Biographical: John Knox

John Knox's role in the Scottish Reformation has been variously assessed and reassessed. The prominence — even centrality — which historians have conventionally accorded him in the victory of 1560 (often at the expense of the contributions from his colleagues, who are, by comparison, almost shadowy figures) is partly because Knox's writings have survived whereas those of his associates have largely not. Yet, despite some current fashions, and the urge to "demythologise", there are many features in Knox's career — his contacts with international Calvinism and, when necessary, with the English government, his influence on the Geneva Bible, the Scottish Book of Discipline and Confession of Faith, his espousal of resistance and "revolution", his refusal of an English bishopric and a Scottish superintendentship, his role as minister of the capital and his confrontations with Queen Mary — which distinguish Knox from many of his colleagues. As a consequence, biographies abound. Quite simply, more has been written about Knox than about any other Scotsman in the sixteenth century.

First, if not exactly foremost, among the biographies is the industrious T. McCrie, *Life of John Knox* (Edinburgh, 1812), which still deserves consideration as a remarkable pioneering work; and W. L. Matheson, who considered McCrie was "intensely prejudiced", was ready to recognise that "no writer of Scottish history is more reliable, more studiously accurate, in his statement of facts" (*SHR*, i, 49). Later biographies, which remain as standard works, include P. H. Brown, *John Knox: a biography* (London, 1895); A. Lang, *John Knox and the Reformation* (London, 1905), which attempted "to get behind Tradition" [and which ought to be read along with W. C. Dickinson, *Andrew Lang, John Knox and Scottish Presbyterianism* (Edinburgh, 1952)]; E. Percy, *John Knox* (London, 1937), still one of the best; J. Ridley, *John Knox* (Oxford, 1968) not wholly reliable; and W. S. Reid, *Trumpeter of God: a biography of John Knox* (New York, 1974).

J. D. Mackie produced for the Historical Association a pamphlet on *John Knox* (London, 1951), adversely reviewed by G. Donaldson (*SHR*, xxxii (1952), 165-7) to which Mackie replied in a second, revised edition (London, 1968).

Other general biographies of Knox, for academic purposes, have largely fallen into disuetude; but passing mention may be made of those by C. K. True (Cincinnati, 1878); G. B. Smith (London, 1875); M. C. Taylor (London, 1883); R. W. Grosse (London, 1888); F. A. MacCunn (New York, 1895); G. B. Smith (London, 1895); A. T. Innes (Edinburgh, 1896); J. Stalker (London, 1904); [and, in time for those who *thought* they were commemorating the quatercentenary of the reformer's birth in 1905] H. Cowan (New York and London, 1905); J. Glasse (London, 1905); A. T. Innes (Edinburgh, 1905); D. Macmillan (London, 1905); E. Miller (London, 1905); J. Stalker (London, 1905); E. D. Warfield (Princeton, 1905); I. Crook (Cincinnati, 1906); L. Barbé (Glasgow, 1921); E. Muir (London, 1929); G. R. Pearce (London, 1936); W. D. Niven (Edinburgh, 1938); M. Bowen (London, 1940); R. S. Walker (London, 1940); J. Macrae (London, 1946); G. McGregor (Philadelphia, 1957); and E. Whitley (London, 1960). Despite all these endeavours, one of the least penetrating efforts is curiously one of the more recent: H. MacDiarmid, C. Maclean and A. Ross, *John Knox* (Edinburgh, 1976).

Continental historians have also had reason to turn their attention to Knox. French studies include E. Hurault, *John Knox et ses relations avec les Églises réformées du continent* (Cahors, 1902); A. Mezger, *John Knox et ses rapports avec Calvin* (Montauban, 1905); P. Janton, *John Knox* (ca. 1513-1572): *L'Homme et l'oeuvre* (Paris, 1967); and the same author's *Concept et Sentiment De L'Eglise Chez John Knox: le reformateur écossais* (Paris, 1972); in German is R. Mullet, *John Knox 1505-1572* (Halle, 1904); and in Dutch, P. J. Kronisigt, *John Knox als Kerkhervormer* (Utrecht, 1895); and G. Douwmeester, *John Knox de Hervormer van Schotland* ('s-Gravenhage, 1964).

Studies which have concentrated on particular themes or episodes in Knox's career are scarcely less numerous. Of particular importance is P. Lorimer, *John Knox and the Church of England* (London, 1875), which contains a few documents unknown when Laing compiled Knox's *Works*. On doctrine, J. S. McEwen has sought to explore *The Faith of John Knox* (London, 1961) and, more intensively, R. G. Kyle has attempted to unravel *The Mind of John Knox* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1984). V. E. D'Assonville has drawn attention to points of contact in the theology of *John Knox and the Institutes of Calvin* (Durban, 1968). In a slender volume of just over a hundred pages, H. Watt, *Knox in Controversy*, examines the reformer's confrontations with Ninian Winzet,

Quintin Kennedy and Queen Mary; and in *John Knox: a quatercentenary reappraisal*, ed. D. Shaw (Edinburgh, 1975), several essayists attempted to say something fresh. In a series of previously-published articles on Knox, R. L. Greaves offers assorted fare in *Theology and Revolution in the Scottish Reformation* (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1980), a somewhat misleading title, for only the sub-title *Studies in the Thought of John Knox* does justice to the content. An older work, R. Miller, *John Knox and the Town Council of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1898), explores a neglected facet.

"The date of Knox's birth", now accepted as around 1514, rather than 1505 as once was thought, is discussed under that title by D. H. Fleming in *The Bookman*, xxviii (Sept. 1905), 193-6; and the question "When was Knox born?", raised again by H. Cowan in *RSCHS*, i (1926), 217-23 also invites the question "Where was John Knox born?", which was investigated by J. Richardson, with "supplementary notices" on Knox's early career by D. Laing and T. Thomson, all in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* [*PSAS*], iii (1862), 52-68.

Several Catholic historians have shown particular interest in Knox's ordination to the priesthood: M. R. Anderson, J. H. Burns, W. J. Anderson and R. McLaren contributed to "The Ordination of John Knox: A Symposium", *IR*, vi (1955), 99-106; J. McHardy provided a note on "The Priesthood of Knox", *IR*, vii (1956), 62-63; as did D. McRoberts, "The Priesthood of John Knox", *IR*, xvi (1965), 134-5. His work as a notary by apostolic authority received attention from D. Laing in a "Supplementary Notice", *PSAS*, iii (1862), 52-68, and, briefly, from W. J. Anderson, "John Knox as Registrar", in *IR*, vii (1956), 63.

Knox's later service in the Edwardine Church of England led W. S. Reid to consider "Knox's Attitude to the English Reformation" in *Westminster Theological Journal*, xxvi (1963), 1-32; and P. M. Little discussed another aspect of Knox's influence in England in "John Knox and English Social Prophecy", *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England*, xiv (1970), 117-27. The reformer's attitude to women received treatment from R. L. Stevenson in "John Knox and his relations to women", *Familiar Studies of Men and Books* (London, 1882), 328-97. The period of exile in Geneva is discussed in a pamphlet produced by S. J. Knox on *John Knox's Genevan Congregation* (The Presbyterian Historical Association of England, London, 1956). W. J. Anderson has supplied some additional details on Knox's arrival at Dieppe in 1559: "John Knox at Dieppe", *IR*, xiii (1962), 104; and J. H. Burns drew fresh attention to the probable identity of Knox as the Scotsman who visited Zürich in March 1554 and consulted Bullinger on political issues, in "Knox and Bullinger", *SHR*, xxxiv (1955), 90-1.

Some illumination on Knox's attitude to resistance is provided in J. H. Burns, "John Knox and Revolution, 1558", *History Today*, viii (1958), 565-73; J. R. Gray, "The Political Theory of John Knox", *Church History*, viii (1939), 132-47; and R. A. Mason, "Knox, Resistance and the Moral Imperative", *History of Political Thought*, i (1980-81), 411-36. J. E. Straukamp considers "Knox, Calvin and English Diplomacy" in *Heythrop Journal*, iv (1963), 61-63, and W. E. Blake looks at the differences between "Knox and Lethington: a lesson in religious and political alienation", *Scotia: American-Canadian Journal of Scottish Studies*, v (1981), 9-20.

An important article by M. Lee is devoted to "John Knox and his *History*", *SHR*, xlv (1966), 79-88; and the theme of Knox's *History* was earlier studied by A. Lang, both in his *John Knox and the Reformation* (mentioned above) and in *SHR*, ii (1904-5), 113-131. W. S. Reid has contributed "John Knox and his Interpreters", *Renaissance and Reformation*, x (1974), 14-24; and C. P. Finlayson has brought to light "A volume associated with John Knox" [a copy of *Annalium Boiorum libri septem* (1554), by the Bavarian Johannes Thurmayer or Aventius, which was read to Knox by his nephew in the winter of 1567], in *SHR*, xxxviii (1959), 170-2.

"To speculate where the reformer would stand today is an unprofitable task", wrote G. Donaldson in 1952 (*SHR*, xxxii, 166), but he evidently changed his mind and did precisely that in "John Knox: Reformer Reassessed", *The Scotsman*, 25 November 1972; and, earlier, H. Trevor-Roper felt impelled to write on "John Knox" in *The Listener*, 5 December 1968. I. B. Cowan contributed "John Knox and the making of the Scottish Reformation", *Proceedings of the Conference of Scottish Studies (Old Dominion)*, i (1974), 22-30; and J. Kirk illustrated the essential continuity between "John Knox and Andrew Melville: A Question of Identity", *Scotia: American-Canadian Journal of Scottish Studies*, vi (1982), 14-25.

Other aspects of Knox's work have come under scrutiny. G. D. Henderson explored "John Knox and the Bible", *RSCHS*, ix (1946), 97-110; C. Martin considered "De la genèse des doctrines religieuses de John Knox", *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*, lv (1906), 193-211; G. Donaldson provided a note on "'Flitting Friday', the Beggars' Summons and Knox's Sermon at Perth", *SHR*, xxxix (1960), 175-76; W. S. Reid has written on "John Knox, Pastor of Souls", *Westminster Theological Journal*, xl (1977), 1-21; and more recently R. Kyle has contributed "The nature of the Church in the thought of John Knox", *Scottish Journal of Theology [SJT]*, xxxvii (1984), 485-501. W. S. Reid has drawn attention to "John Knox in the bishop of Dunkeld's 'Great Lodging'", in *Book of the Old*

Edinburgh Club, xxxiv (1979), 68-72; and C. Bourgeaud has investigated "Le 'vrai Portrait' de John Knox", *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*, lxxxiv (1935), 11-36. Discussion of Knox's family and genealogy received treatment from C. Rogers, *Genealogical Memoirs of John Knox and of the family of Knox* (London, 1879); H. Bonar, "John Knox and Ranfurly", *SHR*, v (1908), 370-71; and G. T. Welsh, "Genealogy of John Knox — a new look", *Scottish Genealogist*, xxvii (1980), 148-51.

More general studies of Knox, many of them dated and of limited value for other than historiographical purposes, include D. H. Fleming, "The Influence of Knox", *SHR*, ii (1905), 131-35; E. D. Warfield, "John Knox, Reformer of a Kingdom", *Princeton Theological Review*, iii (1905), 376-98; C. M. Greer, "The Life of John Knox", *Hartford Seminary Record*, xv (1905), 259-68; J. Denney, "John Knox: his religious life and theological position", *Hartford Seminary Record*, xv (1905), 282-96; S. Simpson, "John Knox's Contribution to America", *Hartford Seminary Record*, xv (1905), 269-81; R. S. Rait, "Scotland and John Knox", *Fortnightly Review*, lxxviii (1905), 95-108; R. S. Rait, "John Knox and the Scottish Reformation", *Quarterly Review*, ccv (1906), 169-95; A. B. Hart, "John Knox as a man of the world", *American Historical Review*, xiii (1908), 259-80; and G. MacGregor, "John Knox, the thundering Scot", *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, xxxviii (1960), 13-25.

6. George Buchanan

If Knox has been the subject of extensive and excessive attention, his important contemporary, political theorist, Latinist and moderator of the General Assembly, George Buchanan, has received significant scholarly study, most notably in I. D. McFarlane's impressive *Buchanan* (London, 1981), which effectively replaces P. H. Brown, *George Buchanan: humanist and reformer* (Edinburgh, 1890); P. H. Brown, *George Buchanan and his time* (Edinburgh, 1906) and M. Macmillan, *George Buchanan* (Edinburgh, 1906). The accusations of heresy can be followed in J. M. Aitkin, *The Trial of George Buchanan before the Lisbon Inquisition* (Edinburgh, 1939). His links with French humanism are discussed in J. Durkan, "George Buchanan: some French connections", *Bibliothèque*, iv (1963), 66-72; I. D. McFarlane, "George Buchanan in France", *Studies in French Literature*, edd. J. C. Ireson *et al.* (Manchester, 1968), 223-45; and I. D. McFarlane, "George Buchanan and French Humanism", *Humanism in France*, ed. A. H. T. Levi (Manchester, 1970), 295-319.

Buchanan's political theories are surveyed in J. H. Burns, "The Political Ideas of George Buchanan", *SHR*, xxx (1951),

60-68; H. R. Trevor-Roper, *George Buchanan and the Ancient Scottish Constitution* (*English Historical Review*, Supplement 3, London, 1966); and R. A. Mason, "Rex Stoicus: George Buchanan, James VI and the Scottish Polity", *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland*, edd. J. Dwyer, R. A. Mason and A. Murdoch (Edinburgh, 1982), 9-33.

Other contributions on Buchanan include W. J. Anderson, "George Buchanan's Paschal Lamb", *IR*, ix (1958), 139-44; J. K. Cameron, "Further information on the life and likeness of George Buchanan", *SHR*, xlii (1963), 135-42; J. Durkan, "Buchanan's Judaising Practices", *IR*, xv (1964), 185-7; J. Durkan, "George Buchanan: New Light on the Poems", *The Bibliothek*, x (1980), 1-9; W. Beattie and J. Durkan, "An Early Publication of Latin Poems of George Buchanan in Scotland from the Press of Lekpreuk", *The Bibliothek*, xi (1983), 77-80; I. D. McFarlane, "A Scottish European: George Buchanan, 1582-1982", *The College Courant*, lxx (1983), 9-14; J. Durkan, "Native Influences on George Buchanan", *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Sanctandreami, Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies*, ed. I. D. McFarlane (New York, 1986), 31-42; and J. H. Burns discussed "Three Scots Catholic Critics of George Buchanan" [Adam Blackwood, Ninian Winzet and William Barclay], *IR*, i (1950), 92-109.

7. Further Biographies

Another satirist, who managed to remain a Catholic, despite his devastating criticism of the church, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, is the subject of a biography by W. Murison, *Sir David Lyndsay: Poet and Satirist of the Old Church in Scotland* (Cambridge, 1938), and of an article by Brother Kenneth, "Sir David Lindsay, Reformer", *IR*, i (1950), 79-91. "The Three James Melvilles" [the Catholic who published in 1530 an account of his disputations with the Lutherans; the diarist and nephew of Andrew; and the diplomat and courtier, of Hallhill] are distinguished by H. Watt, in *RSCHS*, iii (1928), 96-111.

Of the five bishops who conformed to protestantism at the Reformation, three — Orkney, Caithness and Galloway — undertook active service in the reformed ministry. Their careers have been essayed by G. Donaldson in "Bishop Adam Bothwell and the Reformation in Orkney", *RSCHS*, xiii (1960), 85-100; "Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway (1559-1575) and his work in the reformed church", *TDGNHAS*, 3rd ser., xxiv (1947), 111-28; the contents of which, together with a new essay on Bishop Robert Stewart of Caithness, have been brought together in the same author's *Reformed by Bishops: Galloway, Orkney and Caithness* (Edinburgh, 1987). D. Shaw discussed Bothwell's library in "Adam Bothwell, a Conserver of the Renaissance in Scotland",

The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland, edd. I. B. Cowan and D. Shaw (Edinburgh, 1983), 141-169.

The work of John Carswell, superintendent of Argyll and later bishop of the Isles, who produced a Gaelic adaptation of the *Book of Common Order* — the *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh* — has been the subject of several studies: D. MacKinnon, "John Carswell, 1520-1572, Superintendent of Argyle and the Isles", *RSCHS*, iv (1932), 195-207; A. Matheson, "Bishop Carswell", *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, xlii (1953-59), 182-205; and, more recently, D. E. Meek and J. Kirk, "John Carswell, Superintendent of Argyll: a reassessment", *RSCHS*, xix (1975), 1-22. D. Shaw contributed a chapter on "John Willock", the superintendent of the West, in *Reformation and Revolution*, ed. D. Shaw (Edinburgh, 1967), 42-69; and T. A. Kerr discussed the career of John Craig in four articles: "The Early Ministry of John Craig at St Giles, 1562-1566", *RSCHS*, xiv (1962), 1-17; "The Later Ministry of John Craig at St Giles, 1567-1572", *RSCHS*, xiv (1962), 81-99; "John Craig, Minister of Aberdeen and King's Chaplain", *Reformation and Revolution*, ed. D. Shaw (Edinburgh, 1967), 100-23; and, finally, "The Early Life of John Craig, Scottish Reformer, 1512-1560", *RSCHS*, xvii (1969), 65-79.

I. A. Muirhead drew attention to Robert Lockhart who was in touch with Bucer in 1549, in *IR*, xxii (1971), 85-100; J. Durkan produced a note on "Robertus Richardinus and *STC* 21021", in *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions*, iii (1952), 83-4; G. Wiedermann has a note on Alesius, ". . . And a St Andrews Lutheran", *The Alumnus Chronicle of the University of St Andrews*, lxxiv (1983), 25-29; and P. G. B. McNeill has discussed the career of "Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich", *Juridical Review*, n.s. v. (1960), 1-28. A. Ross contributed a note on Alexander Gordon, "More about the Archbishop of Athens", in *IR*, xiv (1964), 30-37. D. M. Lockie traced "The Political Career of the Bishop of Ross, 1568-80", in *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, iv (1953), 98-145; and the career of Ninian Winzet is explored in several articles: A. Coutts, "Ninian Winzet: Abbot of Ratisbon, 1577-1592", *RSCHS*, ii (1955), 240-53; J. H. Burns, "Catholicism in Defeat: Ninian Winzet, 1519-1592", *History Today*, xvi (Nov. 1966), 788-95; and M. Dilworth, "Ninian Winzet: Some New Material", *IR*, xxiv (1973), 125-32. Biographical details of further Roman Catholics, excluded here, are listed in M. Dilworth, "The Counter-Reformation in Scotland: A Select Critical Bibliography", mentioned in (1) above.

With occasional inaccuracy, Robert Wodrow compiled biographies of leading reformers and early ministers, selections from which were published in *Collections upon the lives of the reformers and most eminent ministers of the Church of Scotland*, ed. W. J. Duncan, 2 vols. (Maitland Club, Glasgow, 1834-48) and

Selections from Wodrow's Biographical Collections, Divines of the North East of Scotland, ed. R. Lippe (New Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1890). Few modern individual studies have proved very penetrating, though mention may be made of R. M. Gillon, *John Davidson of Prestonpans* (London, 1937). Rather more helpful is W. G. S. Snow, *The Times, Life and Thought of Patrick Forbes, Bishop of Aberdeen, 1618-1635* (London, 1952). The outstanding *Life of Andrew Melville*, which has not been surpassed, was produced by T. McCrie as early as 1819 (with a later edition Edinburgh, 1899). W. Morison, *Andrew Melville* (Edinburgh, 1899) was merely a pale shadow of McCrie. More recently, J. K. Cameron discussed "Andrew Melville in St Andrews", in *St Mary's College Bulletin*, xxii (1980), 14-25. The career of Archbishop Spottiswoode may be followed in J. Cooper, "Archbishop Spottiswoode, 1565-1639", *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, n.s. vii (1924), 79-104; A. B. Birchler, "Archibishop John Spottiswoode: Chancellor of Scotland, 1635-1638", *Church History*, xxxix (1970), 317-26; and M. Lee, "Archbishop Spottiswoode as Historian", *Journal of British Studies*, xiii (1973/4), 138-50; the church at Dairsie which Spottiswoode rebuilt is discussed by M. Ash in *RSCHS*, xix (1976), 125-32. G. Bonet-Maury studied "John Cameron, a Scottish Protestant Theologian in France, 1579-1625", *SHR*, vii (1910), 325-45; W. M. Campbell wrote on "Robert Boyd of Trochrigg", *RSCHS*, xii (1958), 220-34; and G. Donaldson discussed "Leighton's Predecessors", in *Journal of the Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral*, xii (1975), 7-16.

Not all biographies of reformers have concentrated on ministers, and M. Lee's study of Lord James Stewart (see 1 above) has amply demonstrated what can be done. Besides, L. Barbé selected *Kirkcaldy of Grange* (Edinburgh, 1897), and J. Durkan has thrown further light on "James, Third Earl of Arran: the Hidden Years", *SHR*, lxv (1986), 154-66; and, much earlier, R. K. Hannay chose as his subject the politics surrounding a possible marriage of "The Earl of Arran and Queen Mary", *SHR*, xviii (1921), 258-76.

R. K. Marshall is the biographer of *Mary of Guise* (London, 1977), who was queen regent in Scotland as the Reformation-rebellion took shape. Biographical writings on her daughter, Mary, Queen of Scots are too numerous to mention here; but attention is drawn to the very helpful bibliography in I. B. Cowan, *The Enigma of Mary Stuart* (London, 1971). On Mary's religious policy, G. Donaldson in *Mary, Queen of Scots* (London, 1974), and in other writings, has demonstrated how Mary was no resolute defender of Catholicism, a judgment with which I. B. Cowan concurs in his Saltire Society pamphlet, *Mary, Queen of Scots* (Edinburgh, 1987).

On familial associations and loyalties, E. Finnie has thrown

further light on "The House of Hamilton: Patronage, Politics and the Church in the Reformation Period", *IR*, xxxvi (1985), 3-28; and J. K. Cameron has contributed "Faith and Faction — Conflicting Loyalties in the Scottish Reformation", in *States, Countries, Provinces*, ed. M. Hirst (London, 1986), 72-90.

8. Regional Studies

Most general histories of the Reformation, in tracing its progress, have inevitably examined patterns of reform in various areas of the country. Besides, some authors of parish histories and local studies undoubtedly did their homework and had recourse to record sources; a good example of this was A. Maxwell, *The History of Old Dundee* (Edinburgh, 1884) and the same author's *Old Dundee, Ecclesiastical, Burghal and Social prior to the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1891). There is value, too, in a series of studies by J. B. Craven: *History of the Church in Orkney, 1558-1662* (Kirkwall, 1897); *Records of the Dioceses of Argyll and the Isles, 1560-1860* (Kirkwall, 1907); *History of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Caithness* (Kirkwall, 1908); and *History of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Moray* (London, 1889).

More specialist contributions on particular themes are by no means lacking. G. Donaldson produced "The Galloway Clergy at the Reformation", *TDGNHAS*, 3rd ser., xxx (1953), 38-60, and also the "Post-reformation church of Whithorn", *PSAS*, lxxv (1953), 117-30; and, up to the early sixteenth century, R. C. Reid listed "The Archdeacons of Galloway", in *TDGNHAS*, xxxiii (1957), 66-72. Developments in Orkney at the Reformation are examined in G. Donaldson, "Bishop Adam Bothwell and the Reformation in Orkney", *RSCHS*, xiii, 85-100; and further north the situation in Shetland received attention from G. Donaldson in "The Reformation in Shetland", *The Shetland News*, 31 March 1960, and, more recently in the same author's contribution on Shetland parishes at the Reformation in *Essays in Shetland History*, ed. B. E. Crawford (Lerwick, 1984).

M. H. B. Sanderson examined "Kilwinning at the time of the Reformation and its first minister, William Kirkpatrick", *Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, x (1970-72), 101-29; J. R. Todd commented on "Changeover at the Reformation: What happened in Dunblane diocese", *Journal of the Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral*, xi (1970-73), 91-95; and in the same *Journal*, ix (1965-66), 92-100, 129-36, J. H. Cockburn traced the "Post-Reformation Clergy of Dunblane"; J. K. Cameron looked at "The Uproar of Religion", *Alumnus Chronicle of the University of St Andrews*, 1 (1959), 20-23; J. H. Baxter contributed a pamphlet on *Dundee and the Reformation* (Abertay Historical Society Publications, vii, 1960); M. Dilworth examined "Iona Abbey and the Reformation", *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, xii (1971),

77-109; and S. M. Keeling discussed "The Reformation in the Anglo-Scottish Border Counties", in an English and Scottish context, in *Northern History*, xv (1979), 24-42; N. Maclean-Bristol wrote on "Clerks in Coll at the Reformation", *Notes and Queries, Society of West Highland and Islands Historical Research*, xx (1983), 10-15; I. B. Cowan discussed "The Reformation in Dumfriesshire", *TDGNHAS*, lvi (1981), 82-90; M. J. Yellowlees investigated "The Ecclesiastical Establishment of the Diocese of Dunkeld at the Reformation", *IR*, xxxvi (1985), 74-85; and J. Kirk explored "The Kirk and the Highlands at the Reformation", *Northern Scotland*, vii (1986), 1-22.

Besides, C. H. Haws in a series of articles has examined: "The Diocese of St Andrews at the Reformation", *RSCHS*, xviii (1973), 115-32; "Parish clergy in the dioceses of Dunblane and Dunkeld at the Reformation", *Proceedings of the Conference on Scottish Studies (Old Dominion)*, ii (1974), 6-17; "Continuity and Change. The clergy of the diocese of Moray", *Northern Scotland*, v (1983), 91-98; and "The Diocese of Aberdeen and the Reformation", *IR*, xxii (1971), 72-84. G. Donaldson has considered "Aberdeen University and the Reformation", *Northern Scotland*, i (1974), 129-42; B. McLennan has studied "The Reformation in the burgh of Aberdeen", *Northern Scotland*, ii (1976-7), 119-44; and Aberdeen has also been the subject of investigation by A. White, "The Reformation in Aberdeen", in *New Light on Medieval Aberdeen*, ed. J. S. Smith (Aberdeen, 1985), 58-66; and by the same author, "The Impact of the Reformation on a Burgh Community: the case of Aberdeen", in *The Early Modern Town in Scotland*, ed. M. Lynch (London, 1987), 81-101.

W. S. Reid drew attention to "The Coming of the Reformation to Edinburgh", *Church History*, xlii (1973), 27-44; W. J. Anderson considered "The Excommunication of Edinburgh Town Council, 1558", in *IR*, x (1959), 287-94; P. J. Murray re-examined "The Excommunication of Edinburgh Town Council in 1558", in *IR*, xxvii (1976), 24-34; M. Lynch focused attention on "The two Edinburgh town councils of 1559-60", in *SHR*, liv (1975), 118-39, and on "The 'faithful brethren of Edinburgh': the acceptable face of protestantism", *BIHR*, li (1978), 194-9. A particularly detailed study of Edinburgh is available in M. Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1981), a work exceedingly good on burghal politics and administration (despite an insistence on calling Edinburgh a "city") but weaker on religion (as exemplified in the erroneous claim that "only the civil magistrate possessed the power of excommunication"); and the political emphasis in explaining the Reformation in Edinburgh has been extended to other burghs, in a more general survey, in M. Lynch, "From privy kirk to burgh church: an alternative view of the process of Protestantisation", in *Church, Politics and Society*:

Scotland 1408-1929, ed. N. Macdougall (Edinburgh, 1983), 85-96. The fruits of regional and local studies have found expression in I. B. Cowan, *Regional Aspects of the Scottish Reformation*, a pamphlet published by the Historical Association (London, 1978); and J. Wormald offers illuminating treatment in "'Princes' and the regions in the Scottish Reformation", *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408-1929*, ed. N. Macdougall (Edinburgh, 1983), 65-84.

9. Reformation settlement and aftermath

M. Lee offers an interesting historiographical perspective in "The Scottish Reformation after 400 years", *SHR*, xlv (1965), 135-47; and J. H. S. Burleigh reflected on "The Scottish Reformation as seen in 1660-1760", *RSCHS*, xiii (1959), 241-56.

"The legal aspect of the Scottish Reformation" is briefly considered in P. G. B. McNeill in *Scottish Law Times (News)* (1962), 84; D. B. Smith contributed "The Reformers and Divorce", *SHR*, ix (1911-12), 10-36, and also "A Note on Divorce for Desertion", *Juridical Review*, li (1939), 254-59; and A. E. Anton discussed "Handfasting in Scotland", *SHR*, xxxvii (1958), 89-102. In his study, *Of Presbyters and Kings* (Aberdeen, 1980), F. Lyall considered the role of Scots law in relation to church and state.

On the issue of conformity, besides the relevant studies discussed in (2) and (8) above, G. Donaldson has contributed an important article on "The Parish Clergy and the Scottish Reformation", *IR*, x (1960), 5-20; M. Dilworth has examined "Monks and Ministers after 1560", *RSCHS*, xviii (1974), 201-221; and I. Muirhead discussed "Dominican Friars in the Reformed Church", *SHR*, xxviii (1949), 80-90. Admission to the ministry is the subject of an article by D. Shaw, "The Inauguration of Ministers in Scotland, 1560-1620", in *RSCHS*, xvi (1967), 35-62; and the topic is treated in J. L. Ainslie, *The Doctrines of Ministerial Order in the Reformed Churches of the 16th and 17th Centuries*. G. S. M. Walker also considered "Scottish Ministerial Orders", for the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in *SJT*, viii (1955), 238-54. Beyond the confines of the parishes, the role of "The Scottish Episcopate at the Reformation" is evaluated by G. Donaldson in *EHR*, lx (1945), 349-64.

The patterns which helped shape the structure of the new church have been variously assessed. G. Donaldson detected "'The Example of Denmark' in the Scottish Reformation", *SHR*, xxvii (1948), 57-64 (a revised version of which is printed in G. Donaldson, *Studies in Scottish Church History*, 60-70); others have discovered different examples at work: J. K. Cameron has drawn attention to Cologne and the programme of Hermann von Weid (see (1) above); and the importance of the French reformed

churches has been recognised by W. S. Reid, "French Influence on the First Scots Confession and Book of Discipline", *Westminster Theological Journal*, xxxv (1972-3), 1-14; and, independently, by J. Kirk, "The Influence of Calvinism" (see (4) above).

J. G. MacGregor, *The Scottish Presbyterian Polity* (Edinburgh, 1926) is a scholarly but perplexing work which can trace precedents and examples for Scottish practice almost anywhere. G. Yule offers some reflections on "Continental Patterns and the Reformation in England and Scotland", *SJT*, xxii (1969), 305-23; and G. Donaldson seeks to trace the evolution of "The Polity of the Scottish Church, 1560-1600", in *RSCHS*, xi (1955), 212-26, a theme continued by A. I. Dunlop, "The Polity of the Scottish Church, 1600-1637", *RSCHS*, xii (1958), 161-84. Religion, as a factor in creating the "Foundations of Anglo-Scottish Union", is explored by G. Donaldson in *Elizabethan Government and Society, Essays presented to Sir John Neale*, edd. S. T. Bindoff *et al.* (London, 1961), 282-314 (reprinted in G. Donaldson *Studies in Scottish Church History*, 137-63). A study of much earlier vintage is F. W. Maitland, "The Anglican Settlement and the Scottish Reformation", *Cambridge Modern History*, ii (Cambridge, 1903), edd. A. W. Ward *et al.*, 550-98, an overrated effort resting on flimsy foundations, reprinted in *Selected Historical Essays of F. W. Maitland*, ed. H. Cam (Cambridge, 1957).

J. K. Cameron in his Introduction to *The First Book of Discipline* (Edinburgh, 1972), 3-77, and J. Kirk in the Introduction to *The Second Book of Discipline* (Edinburgh, 1980), 3-157 offer interpretations somewhat at variance to that provided by G. Donaldson. H. S. N. McFarland has a note on "The Book of Discipline" in *Aberdeen University Review*, xxxviii (1960), 246-8; and J. Kirk provided a sketch in "Reformation and Revolution: Kirk and Crown, 1560-1690" in *History Today*, xxxiv (1984), 14-21. More specifically, J. H. S. Burleigh explored "The Presbyter in Presbyterianism", *SJT*, ii (1949), 293-309; T. F. Torrance contributed some thoughts on "The Eldership in the Reformed Church", *SJT*, xxxvii (1984), 503-18; but the best study is G. D. Henderson, *The Scottish Ruling Elder* (London, 1935). Also of value are G. D. Henderson, "The Witness of the Laity", *SJT*, ii (1949), 174-86; G. D. Henderson, *Presbyterianism* (Aberdeen, 1954); and the same author's *The Burning Bush: Studies in Scottish Church History* (Edinburgh, 1957). On the general assembly, D. Shaw has contributed a book *The General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland, 1560-1600* (Edinburgh, 1964); and J. Kirk has collected from manuscript sources details of the appointment of commissioners to the assembly, which have been printed as an Appendix to the *Second Book of Discipline*, 258-90. W. MacMillan discussed the "Lord High Commissioner to

the General Assembly" in *RSCHS*, vi (1938), 36-45, 96-114, 265-98 [reprinted in *The Office of the Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland* (Dunfermline, 1924)].

G. Donaldson gave brief treatment to "The Office of Superintendent in the Reformed Church" in *Common Errors in Scottish History*, ed. G. Donaldson (Historical Association, London, 1956). Earlier efforts by J. Cooper, "Superintendents and Bishops in the Church of Scotland, 1560-1610" in *Historical Papers submitted to the Christian Unity Association of Scotland by its Special Committee, 1911-1913* (Edinburgh, 1914), 34-58, and A. Moffat, "The Office of Superintendent, 1561-81", *RSCHS*, iv (1930), 37-47, dealt with the subject without particular distinction or illumination.

On episcopacy, S. Mechie contributed a brief sketch to 1638 in "Episcopacy in Post-Reformation Scotland", *SJT*, viii (1955), 20-35, and D. G. Mullan produced a book, *Episcopacy in Scotland: the history of an Idea, 1560-1638* (Edinburgh, 1986) which provides a very helpful synthesis of current knowledge, despite the fact that there was never merely *one* "idea" on the nature of the subject. E. G. Selwyn explored "The first Scottish Episcopacy" [1610-38], in *Church Quarterly Review*, xc (1920), 193-218; T. Hannan examined "The Scottish consecrations in London in 1610", in *Church Quarterly Review*, lxxi (1911), 387-413; and H. Stowe looked at "The Scottish Episcopal Succession", in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (1940), 322-48. M. Lee discusses "James VI and the Revival of Episcopacy in Scotland: 1596-1600", in *Church History*, xliii (1974), 50-64; and, more generally for the pre-Reformation period, D. I. Howie has "Some Remarks on the Episcopal Ideal in Sixteenth-Century Scotland", *Scottish Tradition*, vii-viii (1977-8), 47-66.

On relations between the Scottish and English churches, J. Kirk has examined "'The Politics of the Best Reformed Kirks': Scottish achievements and English aspirations in church government after the Reformation", *SHR*, lix (1980), 22-53; J. L. Ainslie looked, mainly for the seventeenth century, at "The Scottish Reformed Church and English Puritanism", *RSCHS*, viii (1944), 75-95; G. Donaldson has explored "The Attitude of Whitgift and Bancroft to the Scottish Church", *TRHS*, 4th ser. xxiv (1942), 95-115, and also the activities of the "Scottish Presbyterian Exiles in England, 1584-88", *RSCHS*, xiv (1962), 67-80. The last article was reprinted in the author's *Studies in Scottish Church History*, 178-90, and the preceding article was reprinted twice: first in *Essays in Modern History*, ed. I. R. Christie (London, 1968), 56-74; and latterly in *Studies in Scottish Church History*, 164-77.

The important, though hitherto neglected, subject of

patronage after 1560 found treatment in J. Kirk, "The Exercise of Ecclesiastical Patronage by the Crown, 1560-1572", *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland*, edd. I. B. Cowan and D. Shaw (Edinburgh, 1983), 92-113, and in the same author's "Royal and lay patronage in the Jacobean Kirk, 1572-1600", *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408-1929*, ed. N. Macdougall (Edinburgh, 1983), 127-50.

Some specific problems facing the reformed church, as it developed, are considered in F. D. Bardgett, "Four Parische Kirkis to Ane Preicheir", *RSCHS*, xxii (1986), 195-209; W. R. Foster, "A Constant Platt Achieved: Provision for the Ministry, 1600-38", *Reformation and Revolution*, ed. D. Shaw (Edinburgh, 1967), 124-40 [reprinted in the author's *The Church Before the Covenants* (Edinburgh, 1975)]. A wide-ranging article by M. Lynch, badly entitled "Calvinism in Scotland, 1559-1638", in *International Calvinism*, ed. M. Prestwich (Oxford, 1985), 225-55 deals not with Calvinism as a creed, nor as a philosophy of life, but with developments within the kirk in a period beset by controversy. M. H. B. Sanderson produced an important article on "Catholic Recusancy in Scotland in the Sixteenth Century", in *IR*, xxi (1970), 87-107; R. C. Reid explored the issue of "Papists and Non-Communicants in Dumfries", in *TDGNHAS*, xxxii (1955), 186-90; D. MacLean tackled the question of "Catholicism in the Highlands and Isles, 1560-1680", *IR*, iii (1952), 5-13; and A. I. Macinnes has examined the issue of "Catholic Recusancy and the Penal Laws, 1603-1707", *RSCHS*, xxiii (1987), 27-63.

The largely ignored topic of the work of the reformed kirk in the Highlands receives attention in J. Kirk, "The Jacobean kirk in the Highlands, 1567-1625", *The Seventeenth Century in the Highlands*, ed. L. Maclean (Inverness, 1986), 24-51; and A. L. Murray and G. Donaldson contributed a note on "Sutherland in 1575 and 1586: problems of the reformed ministry", *SHR*, lvi (1977), 182-4. An illustration of "Scotland's Conservative North in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" is provided by G. Donaldson in *TRHS*, 5th ser. xvi (1966), 65-79.

"The Exercise", for interpreting scripture and a precursor of the presbytery, is discussed under that title by G. D. Henderson, in *RSCHS*, vii (1941), 13-29; "The Operation of Presbyteries in Scotland, 1600-1638" is examined by W. R. Foster in *RSCHS*, xv (1964), 21-33; the establishment of "The Scottish Courts of High Commission, 1610-38", to suppress nonconformity, is the subject of a discussion by G. I. R. McMahon in *RSCHS*, xv (1966), 193-209; S. A. Burrell considered "The Covenant Idea as a Revolutionary Symbol: Scotland, 1596-1637", in *Church History*, xxvii (1958), 338-50, and, then, proceeded to examine "The Apocalyptic Vision of the Early Covenanters", in *SHR*, xliii (1964), 1-24; and G. Donaldson reflected on "The emergence of

schism in seventeenth-century Scotland", *Studies in Church History*, ix (1972), 277-94. More generally, G. D. Henderson produced *Religious Life in Seventeenth-Century Scotland* (Cambridge, 1937).

The political context may be followed in G. R. Hewit, *Scotland Under Morton, 1572-80* (Edinburgh, 1982), M. Lee, "The Fall of the Regent Morton: a Problem in Satellite Diplomacy", *Journal of Modern History*, xxviii (1956), 111-29; M. Lee, *John Maitland of Thirlestane* (Princeton, 1959); M. Lee, "James VI's government of Scotland after 1603", *SHR*, lv (1976), 41-53; M. Lee, *Government by Pen: Scotland under James VI and I* (Urbana, 1980); and J. Wormald, "James VI and I: Two Kings or One", *History*, lxviii (1983), 187-209.

10. Doctrine and Worship

A history of religion in Scotland has yet to be written; and even in the narrower field of Reformed theology, no wholly satisfactory work exists. Some insights may be gained from W. Hastie, *The Theology of the Reformed Church* (Edinburgh, 1904); J. Macpherson, *The Doctrine of the Church in Scottish Theology* (Edinburgh, 1903); J. MacLeod, *Scottish Theology in relation to Church History since the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1943); and J. Walker, *The Theology and Theologians of Scotland, chiefly of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Edinburgh, 1872). A brief examination of "The Beginning of Arminianism in Scotland" was undertaken by G. D. Henderson in *London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, clvii (1932), 493-504.

The history of Reformed worship has received fuller treatment. A helpful introduction is available in *Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland*, edd. D. Forrester and D. Murray (Edinburgh, 1984), with contributions from J. Galbraith on the Middle Ages, G. Donaldson on Reformation to Revolution and M. Dilworth on post-Reformation Roman Catholic worship. Other surveys include W. D. Maxwell, *A History of Worship in the Church of Scotland* (London, 1955) and J. M. Ross, *Four Centuries of Scottish Worship* (Edinburgh, 1972). More specialist contributions comprise W. McMillan, *The Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church, 1550-1638* (London, 1931); G. W. Sprott, *Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1882); S. A. Hurlbut, *The Liturgy of the Church of Scotland since the Reformation*, 4 vols. (Washington, 1944-45) [which includes the text of the *BCO* and *Westminster Directory*]; and G. Donaldson, *The Making of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637* (Edinburgh, 1954).

W. Cowan compiled *A Bibliography of the Book of Common Order and Psalm Book of the Church of Scotland, 1556-1644* (Edinburgh, 1913); J. Durkan has drawn attention to a "Contract

between Clerk and Lekpreuik for Printing the Book of Common Order, 1564", *The Bibliothek*, xi (1983), 129-35; W. D. Maxwell explored *John Knox's Genevan Service Book, 1556* (Edinburgh, 1931); J. A. Lamb wrote on "The Kalendar of the Book of Common Order, 1564-1644", in *RSCHS*, xii (1958), 15-28; W. J. Watson studied "Bishop Carswell's Liturgy", *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, xxx (1924) 287-312; J. Macrae considered "The Scottish Reformers and their Order of Public Worship", in *RSCHS*, iii (1929), 22-30; W. McMillan discussed "The Anglican Book of Common Prayer in the Church of Scotland", in *RSCHS*, iv (1932), 138-49; and G. J. Cuming provided a note on "John Knox and the Book of Common Prayer", in *Liturgical Review*, x, no. 2 (Nov. 1980), 80-81.

The various strands in the developing tradition of Scottish worship are unravelled by A. C. Cheyne, "Worship in the Kirk: Knox, Westminster and the 1940 Book", in *Reformation and Revolution*, ed. D. Shaw (Edinburgh, 1967), 70-81; G. D. Henderson investigated "Foreign Influences in Scottish Church Worship", in *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, xi (1934), 48-60; and the opposition to James VI's attempts at liturgical innovation is examined by I. B. Cowan, "The Five Articles of Perth", in *Reformation and Revolution*, 160-77, and by P. H. R. Mackay, "The reception given to the Five Articles of Perth", *RSCHS*, xix (1977), 185-201. J. A. Lamb supplied a note on "Worship after the Reformation: how the services in Dunblane changed", *Journal of the Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral*, xi (1974), 71-8; and G. Donaldson commented on "Worship in Scotland in 1620", in *Liturgical Studies*, i (1971), 11-16.

The sacrament of the Lord's Supper has been studied by A. Barclay, *The Protestant Doctrine of the Lord's Supper* (Glasgow, 1927), and by G. B. Burnet, *The Holy Communion in the Reformed Church of Scotland, 1560-1960* (Edinburgh, 1960). A. M. Hunter has contributed two wide-ranging articles on "The Celebration of Communion in Scotland after the Reformation", *RSCHS*, iii (1929), 161-73; iv (1930), 48-65.

The role of the metrical psalms and of music in worship may be explored in M. Patrick, *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody* (Oxford, 1949); W. Cowan, "The Scottish Reformation Psalmody", *RSCHS*, i (1923), 29-47; W. McMillan, "The Metrical Psalter of James VI", *RSCHS*, viii (1944), 114-33, 184-208; W. S. Reid, "The Battle Hymns of the Lord: Calvinist Psalmody of the Sixteenth Century", *Sixteenth-Century Essays and Studies*, ii (1971); K. Elliot, "Scottish Music of the Early Reformed Church", *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, xv (1961), 18-41; and A. G. Gilchrist, "Psalm Versions and French Tunes in the Scottish Psalter of 1564", *RSCHS*, v (1935), 208-213.

The theme of "The Bible in Scotland after the Reformation" is explored by G. A. F. Knight, in *RSCHS*, v (1935), 214-26.

11. Cultural and Educational Studies

Studies of the Reformation which treat the subject as a political phenomenon and ignore the intellectual and cultural context (which includes theological and religious thought) do so at their peril. J. Durkan has provided directions in a series of important contributions: "The Beginnings of Humanism in Scotland", *IR*, iv, 5-24; "Giovanni Ferrerio, humanist: his influence in sixteenth-century Scotland", in *Religion and Humanism*, ed. K. Robbins (*Studies in Church History*, xvii, Oxford 1981), 181-94; "The Cultural Background in Sixteenth-Century Scotland", *IR*, x, 382-439; "Education in the Century of the Reformation", *IR*, x, 67-90; and, in a more specialised study, "John Rutherford and Motaigue: An Early Influence?", *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance*, xli (Geneva, 1979), 115-22. J. K. Cameron has a valuable discussion of "The renaissance tradition in the reformed church: the example of Scotland", in *Renaissance and Renewal in Christian History* (*Studies in Church History*, xiv, Oxford 1977), 251-69; and G. Donaldson explores the twin themes of "Renaissance and Reformation", in *The Scottish World*, ed. H. Orel *et al.*, (New York, 1981), 87-118.

Within the context of cultural and religious change in Edinburgh, the career of Clement Little, a reformist Catholic turned protestant reformer who became commissary of Edinburgh and bequeathed to the burgh his theological library, the nucleus of the University's library, is explored in J. Kirk, "Clement Little's Edinburgh", *Edinburgh University Library, 1580-1980: A collection of historical essays*, edd. J. R. Guild and A. Law (Edinburgh, 1982), 1-42. The creation of royal lectureships in the capital is the subject of a note by J. Durkan, "The royal lectureships under Mary of Guise", *SHR*, lxii (1983), 73-78.

On the universities, for Aberdeen J. Durkan has investigated "Early humanism and King's College", in *Aberdeen University Review*, xlviii (1980), 259-79; G. Donaldson examined "Aberdeen University and the Reformation", *Northern Scotland*, i, 129-42; and W. S. Watt and J. Durkan respectively provided the translation of, and commentary on, "George Hay's *Oration* at the purging of King's College, Aberdeen, in 1569", in *Northern Scotland*, vi (1985), 91-6. R. S. Rait, *The Universities of Aberdeen* (Aberdeen, 1895) is outdated; but G. D. Henderson, *The Founding of Marischal College, Aberdeen* (Aberdeen, 1946) is still valuable. For Edinburgh, D. B. Horn, *A Short History of the University of Edinburgh, 1556-1889* has an oddly-dated title and is thin in content for the early decades. The best discussion of the

university's foundation remains D. B. Horn, "The Origins of the University of Edinburgh", *Edinburgh University Journal*, xxii (1966), 213-25, 297-312. In "a revision article", "The Origins of Edinburgh's 'Toun College'", *IR*, xxxiii (1982), 3-14, M. Lynch stresses the conservative factors at work, arguing that Rollock, its first principal master was anti-Ramist, unaware of contemporary comment on Rollock's Ramist teaching at Edinburgh. For Glasgow, J. D. Mackie produced a wide-ranging history, *The University of Glasgow, 1451-1951* (Glasgow, 1954), which is not particularly expansive on the sixteenth century. More detailed treatment of the Reformation and its repercussions for the university is available in J. Durkan and J. Kirk, *The University of Glasgow, 1451-1577* (Glasgow, 1977). H. M. B. Reid, *The Divinity Principals in the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1917) has also a relevance; and J. Kirk has a short discussion of "Andrew Melville and the College of Glasgow" in *Glasgow University Gazette*, lxxvi (1974), 7-9. St Andrews has received scholarly investigation in R. G. Cant *The University of St Andrews* (Edinburgh, 1946; 2nd edition, 1970) and in the same author's *The College of St Salvator* (Edinburgh, 1950). J. Herkless and R. K. Hannay produced *The College of St Leonard* (Edinburgh, 1905). On the reorganisation of 1579, R. G. Cant discussed *The New Foundation of 1579 in Historical Perspective* (St John's House Papers no. 2; Edinburgh, 1979); and J. K. Cameron examined "The Refoundation of the University in 1579", in *The Alumnus Chronicle of the University of St Andrews*, no. 71 (June, 1980), 3-10. The post-Reformation seal of St Mary's College in St Andrews is considered by J. K. Cameron and R. N. Smart in "A Scottish form of the Emblème de la Religion Réformée", *PSAS*, cv (1972-74), 248-54.

Further studies include J. K. Cameron "The Church and the Universities in Scotland in the era of the Reformation", in *The Church in a Changing Society* (Uppsala, 1978); R. G. Cant, "The Scottish Universities in the Seventeenth Century", *Aberdeen University Review*, xliii (1970), 223-33; R. S. Rait, "Andrew Melville and the Revolt against Aristotle in Scotland", *EHR*, xiv (1899), 250-60; J. H. Baxter, "Dr Richard Hildyard in St Andrews, 1540-1543", *The Alumnus Chronicle of the University of St Andrews*, no. 44 (1955), 2-10; J. K. Cameron, "A St Andrews Manuscript of Poems by John Johnston (c. 1565-1611)", *Aberdeen University Review*, xxxix (1961), 230-32; S. Mechie, "Education for the Ministry in Scotland since the Reformation: 1", *RSCHS*, xiv (1963), 115-33; and H. S. N. McFarland, "The Education of James Melville (1556-1614)", *Aberdeen University Review*, xxxvi (1956), 362-70.

Books which students and scholars possessed, and presumably read, are listed in J. Durkan and A. Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow, 1961), and additions in *The Bibliothek*, ix (1978),

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